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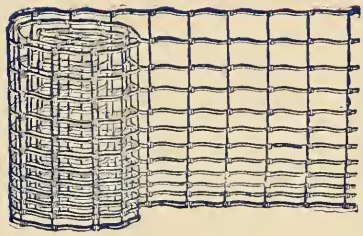

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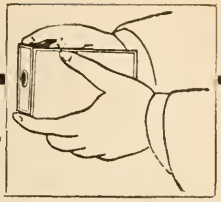

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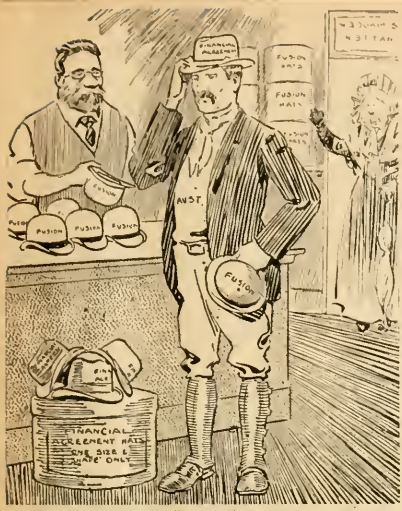

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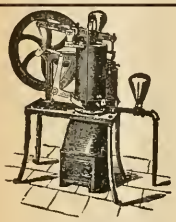

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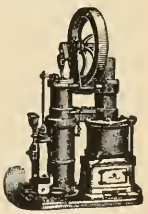

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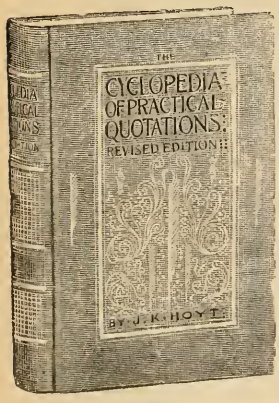

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THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS FOR AUSTRALASIA

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THE HISTORY OF THE MONTH.

MELBOURNE, February 22, 1910.

Mr. Deakin at Ballarat.

Mr. Deakin has never done anything finer than his speech at Ballarat in the early part of February. It was a great effort, statesmanlike, befitting the occasion. Things have greatly altered since the last pre-election speech was made. Then there was seemingly hopeless division between the three parties in the House. It was a wild scramble for place. The triangular contests, waged in nearly every constituency, were a fearful jumble of principles and of methods. Each candidate was pitted against the two others, and it did not much matter whose head was hit as soon as it appeared. Electors were in a state of confusion, for the opinions of two of the parties sometimes varied so little, as did also the mental and moral calibre of the candidates, that the people were sorely puzzled to know what to do. Possibly in the first few years of the Federation, when things were settling down and finding their proper level, this condition of things was inevitable, and the tri-party system may have served some useful purposes, but none the less the feeling of relief is profound that it is ended. After all, the disputes were more those of politicians than of electors, as denominational differences are more ministerial than lay, and as soon as the politicians joined hands the electors were thankful.

A Fusion of Parties.

And, as Mr. Deakin said, the present Government was founded on a fusion of parties. "That union of parties we made without the sacrifice of a single principle, and to-day, without any sacrifice, we continue in our field of practical work." That is the charm of the fusion. Were it bound by Caucus ties and were individual opinion tied to Caucus rule, the fusion would have the same objectionable feature that the Labour Party has. But the fusion is one of the men who have held together because their personal views coincided on the questions submitted to them, and that is the best way. In view of the approaching elections, some of those connected with fusion have wished to tie some candidates up hand and foot by written pledges. But to do the very thing the Labour Party is blamed for doing, would be folly of the highest order. Besides being inconsistent, it would be undermining the foundations of its strength. On this point Mr. Deakin said:—"We began with the agreement on which this Government was based, involving no surrender. We found a great many arrears, and we disposed of them. We have a fruitful session of work behind us. There is no present rift within the lute. We have no mechanical pretence of conforming amongst us. We enjoy our individual judgment. If there are differences of opinion they are allowed, they are permitted to develop, and will be dealt with practically. We shall test them, not by shibboleths, but by their bearing on the practical interests of this country, and if at any time hereafter we are unable to agree we have no door closed upon us. Our union has been in public, and the terms of it have been publicly stated, and will publicly continue. It took a great deal to bring us together, and now we are together it will take a good deal to separate us. We are marching to the same music, and in this Government and in this party no man has parted with his birthright of individual judgment or his responsibility to his constituents." And this principle must be maintained with jealousy in order to secure safety and progress.

A New Condition.

But things are now different. Mr. Deakin was able to speak with the authority of an undivided party behind him. He had also a record of work that would have enabled any Prime Minister to face his audience with the most serene of complacence. The list of Bills put through the House made a fine recital of achievement. We do not approve of the details of some of them, but the total of them was something to be proud of. Needless to say, the Labour Party has not been seized with inspiration at the review of the accomplishment; that could hardly be expected; but the country at large endorses what has been done, and looks forward with hope to the fulfilment of much more.

An Interstate Commission.

Necessarily a great deal of the speech was retrospective, but Mr. Deakin also gave a good idea of what was likely to be in the next session. One prominent feature, and, indeed, the

first dealt with in the proposals for the future, was the Interstate Commission, described as an executive which should be charged with the duty of finding out the things which Parliament wants to know in order that it may legislate correctly. As sketched out by Mr. Deakin the duties of such a Commission will be exceedingly responsible. On the face of it a more important branch of work could hardly be imagined. It stands to reason that without correct information it is quite impossible for any Government to legislate as it should do, and the Interstate Commission is to take upon itself the duty of collecting information upon any question which Parliament has under discussion. To quote Mr. Deakin's own words, "at present our Parliaments are insufficiently fed with facts on the great social, fiscal, and industrial issues which lie around us, and should lie before us." Without doubt Parliament has been much hampered in the past through having insufficient evidence of questions which it has been considering, and the department should become one of the most valuable from the point of view of legislation. Of course it is not going to alter the character of legislators, or even the tone of Parliament, two things which are so necessary in maintaining high standards of legislation. But with the information which a Commission like this should be able to give, there could be no excuse for legislating on faulty evidence. Mr. Deakin applied this to the tariff question. Whether we like or not the tariff is here and seems likely to stay, and the only way in which effort can now be directed is to put it upon as scientific a basis as possible. Upon this point Mr. Deakin expressed the hope that the tariff should be dealt with as "a business proposition, apart from theory and general political doctrine. We have not had the clear light and knowledge upon the facts and combinations which require to be mastered before our competitive power and that of our rivals can be measured. We saw in the Interstate Commission an opportunity of building up a body of capable, independent men, who should study and certify to Parliament and Government the condition of industries under which the people work here and elsewhere on the same classes of goods. Then we can see whether the contest is really between superior ability and machinery, or if it is a contest between sweated labour and labour sought to be fairly paid." That, of course, premises a fixed basis upon which duty ought to be calculated, such as the difference in the cost of production and freight. Of course no one will attempt to deny that there were anomalies in the last tariff which bear no semblance of reason, and the tariff as such was a very incomplete thing, even from a tariff point of view, and if it is to be here it may as well be made as reasonable and consistent as possible. Apart altogether from these things, however, a body of this kind becomes a necessity as a reliable general information bureau, for without knowledge there can be no real power.

Federal Industrialism.

With regard to Federal industrialism Mr. Deakin struck a good note. The hope of industry in Australia is in its uniformity. Industrial laws and tribunals must prevail substantially the same throughout the Commonwealth. It is ridiculous for certain conditions to be imposed by a properly-qualified tribunal in one State, while across a river or an imaginary line there may be, through the absence of a similar tribunal, conditions the very opposite. Mr. Deakin expressed the hope that wages boards should be established in every industry in State bounds, and then above them all "a final court of appeal to prevent unjust competition as between differing verdicts of differing wages boards in different States—an independent qualified Commonwealth tribunal to prevent want of harmony and avoid collision between different boards in different States." This, as against uniform laws and regulations and restrictions over the whole Commonwealth decided by a Central Board. Decidedly there is more to be said in favour of the former proposal. In a country of such immense distances it is quite impossible to get identical conditions, and the utmost that can be done is to make these conditions as nearly as possible uniform. Mr. Deakin was right when he said that one might as well try to administer the roads and bridges and sanitary affairs of Australia from one centre as to try to administer its industrial affairs from one centre, and by a single legislature. It will be remembered that some time ago, after one of the Premiers' Conferences, the States agreed to introduce legislation to provide wages boards where this had not already been done. That being accomplished, all necessary State machinery is provided. Enquiry upon differing conditions would be part of the work of an Interstate Commission. Here perhaps lies one of the fields where such a body would find most work. But if it existed only to facilitate industrialism, prevent unjust conditions, and make reasonable uniformity, there would be justification for its existence, if it had no other duty.

The Unemployed.

When Mr. Deakin tackled the unemployed problem, he was touching a grave and intricate question. Without doubt the difficulty is here. In our great cities there is unemployment of a wide nature, and the majority of the men are not unemployable either. Whether the problem can be solved Federally better than by the States is a question that wants a lot of consideration. It would probably mean the transportation of men from one place to another, and with our large distances this would constitute a grave difficulty. At the present time various labour bureaux are attempting to deal

with the difficulty, but hundreds of men register who never get employment, and who are perfectly willing to work. We meet case after case ourselves and have no hesitation in saying that the present method is wholly inadequate to meet the demands of the situation. Mr. Deakin recognised the difficulty which confronts everyone who attempts to deal with the problem, when he spoke of the man who will not work, as well as the man who cannot get work. He hinted at a possibility of coping with the latter class by means of an insurance system, which works satisfactorily up to a point in some other countries. But the problem of unemployment might be solved even now locally by the appointment of Commissioners given certain powers, and until something of that kind is done the question will trouble us. For instance, it ought to be quite possible for Commissioners who had the thing in hand to have control of certain relief work and to give unemployed men a few hours' work a day so that they might keep the wolf from the door, and yet have an opportunity to look for permanent work. This would really be better, for the time being, at any rate, than endeavouring to deal with the question from a common Federal centre. In spite of the fact that very often work and the worker are miles apart, unemployment is very often a peculiarly local matter, and some machinery is necessary to instantly relieve the wants of the genuine worker, not by charity, but by sufficient relief works to keep him going, while at the same time he has an opportunity to put himself beyond the need of relief.

Preventing Need.

In touching upon this matter Mr. Deakin was really dealing with the question of charity, not in any offensive sense, but in the higher one of preventing want. This was specially so when he referred to the Federal Service Pension Scheme. Here he touched a vital necessity. Here is a vast and quickly growing service the great majority of which earns the lowest wages which the Commonwealth pays. Higher salaried men are in the great minority. By the time that they have kept their families properly, there cannot for the majority of them be enough left to provide a competency for their old age, and it is the clear duty of the Federal Government to provide a scheme which will assist such a large body of public servants to get beyond the reach of poverty in their old age. Unless this is done the charitable resources of the Commonwealth must be severely taxed by-and-bye. A scheme was suggested some time ago, but nothing came of it. Mr. Deakin touched a fine note when he suggested that there should be no objection to the States joining hands with the Commonwealth in the providing of a Civil Service Pension Scheme. There can be no valid objection to such a proposal. It would mean a more comprehensive scheme, and therefore would have greater chances of success. It would mean also a tremendous saving in the costs of administration. In the interests, however, of the community at large, which in self-defence must make provision for the thousands of public service officials who, in an ever-increasing stream, will be set free from work on attaining the age of 60 years, the matter should be taken up immediately and heartily.

An Agricultural Bureau.

Another Federal matter which engaged Mr. Deakin's attention was the question of an agricultural bureau. This is an instant necessity. No one can surely observe uninterestedly the vast increase in wealth that has come to the farming community within the last 10 years by improved methods of cultivation and the use of artificial manures. To this may be added the increased knowledge which has come with regard to irrigation and intense culture. But these are only a tithe of the means which might be used to increase the prosperity of the community through the medium of agriculture. The question of pests which attack orchards and crops is one of such far-reaching importance that States cannot deal with it as completely as should be, while the general question of improved agricultural methods is so important that mere State boundaries should not be allowed to override it. The States will probably object to what they call an usurpation of their privileges, but Australia is primarily an agricultural community, and in the matter of production nothing can approach it in importance.

The Northern Territory.

Necessarily the Northern Territory was dismissed without much detail being given as to intentions. If one filled a page of comment he could only reiterate the tremendous need that exists in the Northern Territory for closer settlement. At the present time it might be occupied and settled by an alien people without let or hindrance on our part. The immense distance that separates it from the rest of the Commonwealth makes it almost a foreign land. It is quite true that foreign treaties loyally observed would prevent anything of that kind happening. But if there were no foreign treaties, or if anything happened to make them disregarded, our Northern Territory would not only be useless to us, but it would be a burden. What is wanted first of all is extensive settlement, and secondly a railway to bring it into close communication with the remainder of the Commonwealth. Mr. Mauger made a capital suggestion the other day when he suggested that the superfluous miners at Newcastle should be offered special inducements to go to the Northern Territory and to settle on land. Inevitably there must be an overplus of labour on the mines when the strike ends. This could profitably be transferred to the Northern Territory. Mr.

Deakin's statement was apt when he said, "The white man's burden in Australia is to make a white man's country of its northern areas."

Some Future Bills.

In the Bills promised for the future Mr. Deakin included an Electoral Bill to secure majority rule, and one to deal with trusts and combines. Both are highly necessary. The present system, whereby in a contest it is possible for one candidate to gain a seat while he polls a minority vote, needs altering badly. With the many systems of preferential voting which are now in vogue it ought not to be a difficult matter for the Federal Parliament to decide on one which will be satisfactory to all parties. With regard to a Bill to deal with trusts and combines that is a pressing necessity. Already trusts rear their heads in the midst of us, and trade is beginning to feel the results of their restrictive tendencies. The effect of it is to be distinctly seen in the increased price of living which now rules throughout Australia. If the worker has been benefited in some quarters, he has had to pay dearly for it in others, and if the Government wishes to equalise matters, it must see that competition is not killed. If Mr. Deakin gets anything like the following which he has at the present time both these Bills should very soon become law.

Lord Kitchener's Report.

The report of Lord Kitchener is available, and the world now knows what the expert says concerning our condition and our necessities. It was quite to be expected that before he got to the heart of his problem Lord Kitchener would have expressed the view that he was not surprised to find excellent material for troops in Australia. The first century of Australian life has certainly produced a race of men that physically are well able to take their place in war should it be required. The grief of the situation is that men who develop such physical efficiency should be called upon to become food for powder. It was hardly to be expected that he would criticise in detail the special camps which were held for his benefit. He had a far greater work than that to do. True, the demonstrations gave him an idea of the kind of man that we have, of our organisation, and training. When he had got that, the merits and details of imaginary engagements were beneath notice. It is hardly to be surprised at either that he says that one conclusion he has come to is that in numbers, training, organisation, and munitions of war the present force is inadequate to defend Australia from the dangers that are due to the present conditions that prevail in the country as well as to its isolated position. This was a foregone conclusion. If it had been otherwise there would have been no need to ask him to inspect and advise. And having invited him with this knowledge, and asked him to tell us what to do, it would be worse than foolish to disregard his advice. It is somewhat comforting to know that Lord Kitchener thinks that the amount contemplated under the Defence Act, about one and three quarter million pounds when our full army strength is sufficiently trained, organised and equipped, will suffice for present needs.

The First Dictum.

As a first line of argument Lord Kitchener lays down the dictum of the home authorities that forces should be so organised as to compel an army contemplating invasion to make an attempt on such a scale as to be unable to evade our naval forces. This argument, he says, applies equally to Australia, and its land forces should be constituted and organised on this basis. One cannot help expressing a little surprise that he estimated the number of fighting troops required so low. He thinks the land forces required would be 80,000 fighting troops. Considering that these would need to be cut up into six main sections, and many smaller ones, it strikes one as being a small force to defend such a large country. But the Field-Marshal must know what he is talking about, and, beyond expressing the view, it would be ridiculous to attempt to argue it. And, after all, it is a matter of comparisons with the strength of likely opposing forces. The 80,000 troops he would divide into 84 battalions of infantry, made up of 21 brigades of four battalions each, 28 regiments of light horse, 49 4-gun field batteries, 7 4-gun heavy and howitzer batteries, 7 communication companies, and 14 field companies of engineers, with departmental troops in proportion.

Our Railways.

It was hardly to be expected that in building our railways we should have had regard first for defence purposes. That consideration has never entered into our minds. Probably in the internal development of every country the policy of railway building has been dictated by trade and by nothing else. But possibly, as we come in in our early development at a point of history where other countries have the advantage of many years of experience, it might be expected that our railway systems should have been built with a view to defence purposes. Notwithstanding this, our railway systems have stretched their fingers towards fertile areas, and settlement has dictated their direction. At any rate Lord Kitchener thinks that in time of war our railways would prove more favourable to the enemy than they would to our defence. Speaking in Sydney during the month Mr. Deakin made pointed reference to the necessity for building lines of communication to the West and the Northern Territory, and indeed to the North West. Maybe the visit of Lord Kitchener gives his note an added conviction. With regard to training, Lord Kitchener approves of the idea of cadets, but from his soldiers' point of view he does not think that this

dispenses with the need of an efficient course of military training. That was to be expected. A general wants the finest type of fighting machine he can get. When the cadet passes into the line, having arrived at compulsory training age, he thinks that from 18 to 20 years of age sixteen days' training per annum should be put in, and from 19 to 20, and until the soldier reaches the age of 25, a six days' training in camp.

Use Before Ornament.

Before he presented his report Lord Kitchener had expressed himself as being against mere show and superficials, and in the report he impresses the same thing upon us, although not in so many words. He remarks that organisation should be real and designed for war purposes only. With that we agree heartily. Organisation carried out on those lines would tend to remove very many objectionable features from militarism, as well as making a grimmer and more effective machine. But he probably asks too much when he suggests that the nation as a whole should take a pride in its defence, that is if it means that the community should become imbued with the military spirit. This kind of work is one that ought to be undertaken only through the sternest necessity, and carried through in that spirit. If it means being in deadly earnest, that is all right, but we cannot stand an attack of militarism. We do not want to lose the sturdy enthusiasm of the Australian youth, and put in its place a weak sentimentality that looks on the army as a capital thing to give tone and standing. If the army is to be a defence machine, let it be that, in its baldest and most utilitarian aspect, we can find hearty agreement with Lord Kitchener's constantly reiterated opinion that there should be no make-believe or humbug in our defence. It is that point which gives one so much confidence in his report. It embodies a programme of work without useless flummery.

Defence and Politics.

It is a good thing that Lord Kitchener emphasises the necessity of keeping the defence system outside party politics. If there is one weak point in our system it is that with changes of Government there might be considerable changes in the administration of the Defence Department. This must not be. Once a settled policy is decided upon it should be carried out faithfully, irrespective of changes in political departments. The force has suffered in the past from being so much at the disposal of different Governments. Efficiency can only be attained if there is freedom from outside interference. It is perhaps pardonable that a Minister on assuming office should be desirous of carrying out drastic changes which to his lay mind are a necessity. But if the force is to attain a high degree of proficiency its details must be carried out in entirety by the skilled men in charge. Given a clearly defined line of policy details should be left absolutely to the experts.

Brains v. Influence.

Another matter which stamps the report with sincerity is that concerning which Lord Kitchener says: —"Under this system it is evident that the responsibilities of the area officer will make it a national necessity that he should be a carefully-selected man, thoroughly grounded and trained in his profession, and scientifically educated. No social considerations, no influence, nothing but efficiency should be allowed to affect the selection and promotion of these officers. Their work should be judged by results alone." Any other suggestion would have been highly distasteful as well as impolitic. From what one can understand from conditions prevailing elsewhere the very opposite of this has been the policy, birth and position being more responsible than merit for promotion in the army. More than anything else a spirit of that kind introduced to Australia would knock the bottom out of our defence scheme, and produce the very opposite effect to what Lord Kitchener wants when he suggests that the force "must be an integral part of the national life." It will be the opportunity to pass through any of the doors of the service that will inspire the citizen soldier. With the possibility of rising to the top of the profession he will attack his work with assiduity and confidence. Considerations of influence apart from competence would ruin the whole scheme; but if the responsible positions in the defence force are to be gained by results alone, it will inspire the younger members with an enthusiasm that will make the organisation a success and a part of our national life. In the same line of thought as the suggestion that citizen officers must lead, he remarks that the leadership of units of the citizen forces will depend on citizen officers, and it is therefore all important that these should be of the most promising material available, chosen young and selected solely for the capacity for leadership and military knowledge, and devotion to duty.

A Straightforward Message.

These broad lines Lord Kitchener lays down as a basis for effective and inspirational service. A stern policy of early and instant promotion of the fit and rejection of the unfit from all grades of office, irrespective of private position or other circumstances, will bring the defence force to the highest point in our national life. One cannot help but admire the ring of sincerity that pervades the report. Lord Kitchener's design has been to see what our forces consisted of, what our conditions were, and considering the two to get the most effective force out of them that could be. He believes that the office of District Commandant

should remain, but wisely suggests that these officers should be made to decide all questions which are within their power on the supposition that it is preferable to run the risk of an occasional mistake rather than encourage an unnecessary and undesirable dependence on headquarters. Lord Kitchener's recommendation in this respect is to be heartily applauded. Already there looms up in Australian life a tendency to place responsibilities in the actual heads of departments, leaving without the power of initiative or judgment men whose years of experience entitle them to consideration. An officer of any kind or rank who is not encouraged to use his brains, but who relies entirely upon his superior officer, is likely to lose his powers of observation and judgment, and cannot be blamed if his faculties cannot rise to the occasion when a crisis is forced upon him. A wise and judicious use of responsibilities will develop officers and men who learn to think for themselves, and who in tight places are able to get themselves out of difficulties.

Training.

With regard to the extensive change which will now take place regarding our Defence Forces, and the introduction of the Citizens' Force Scheme, Lord Kitchener suggests that the designations and historical associations of the present regiments should be continued under the new system, believing that in this way the *esprit de corps* of the militia and volunteers will be transmitted to the new Citizens' Force. Training, of course, is one of the most important ideas in the whole programme. Men cannot teach unless they themselves be taught. Lord Kitchener, therefore, recommends the establishment of a military college similar in ideals to the Military College at West Point, America. This Military College would then provide all the permanent officers that would be required. Under these conditions it would be a school of hard and severe instruction in military matters. The full staff he recommends to consist of 190 lieutenants, 90 captains, 50 majors, 13 lieutenant-colonels, and 7 colonels, making a total of 350. The cost of working the college to the full is estimated at £15,050. Again Lord Kitchener impresses the necessity that it should be free from political influence. Evidently he has had experience of the way in which political influence can spoil the greatest expert opinion and the finest executive ability. It is the absence of red tape from the system which is going to bring it to the high state of efficiency.

The Newcastle Coal Strike.

The New South Wales coal strike seems to be passing out of public ken as far as its needs are concerned. Supplies of coal are coming in a steady stream from outside, and in a little time they will be regular, and the New South Wales contribution could be forgotten. This will mean a very disturbing factor when the mines start work again, for it is a foregone conclusion that there will not be work for half the men on the field. This will constitute one of the most serious losses of the miners. Not only have thousands of pounds been lost in actual wages, but the proportion of men engaged must necessarily be small until the avenues of trade are again opened up. The trials before the Industrial Court of the conspirators resulted in Mr. Peter Bowling being sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, and Messrs. D. Hutton, J. Butler, and W. O'Connor to eight months each with hard labour in each case. The judge, in giving judgment, expressed the opinion that the act of the southern miners in striking when they had no grievance, and simply out of sympathy with the Newcastle miners, was an illustration of unionism gone mad. It was tyrannical for labour to threaten a general strike simply to benefit a small section of workers. He was right. Under fearful oppression that could not be removed in any other way, a general strike would be justifiable. In Australia to-day, with all the paraphernalia of justice in the shape of wages boards and industrial courts, it is both a screaming farce and a lamentable mistake for workers to resort to strikes to get what they want. Both unionism and the general public have learnt a lesson they are not likely to forget.

The Conspirators' Sentences.

On a charge of conspiracy, Peter Bowling, William Brennan, Albert Burns, Amram Lewis and Andrew Gray were on a later day found guilty. Each was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment, Bowling's sentence being cumulative upon the previous sentence of 12 months, for the reason, his Honour said, that he had persisted in breaking the law. He went on to say, "Each one of you knew perfectly well that in doing these things you were breaking the law. You did it deliberately, and continued doing it until arrested, and also urged your fellow men to do the same thing. What has been the result of your action? Thirteen thousand miners have been thrown out of work, and I don't know how many other workers throughout the whole of Australia. That is what you have brought about, and are pleased to say has been done for the cause of humanity. What humanity is there in that? I call it brutality."

Lions Led by Asses.

In order to show how badly the men have been led and how the leaders were entirely responsible for what happened, also the kind of man that the miners sometimes permit to lead them, this may be placed on record. During the month a red flag demonstration was made. A great crowd gathered and marched through the principal streets of Sydney to the police court to create sympathy with the men on trial. The leader was one

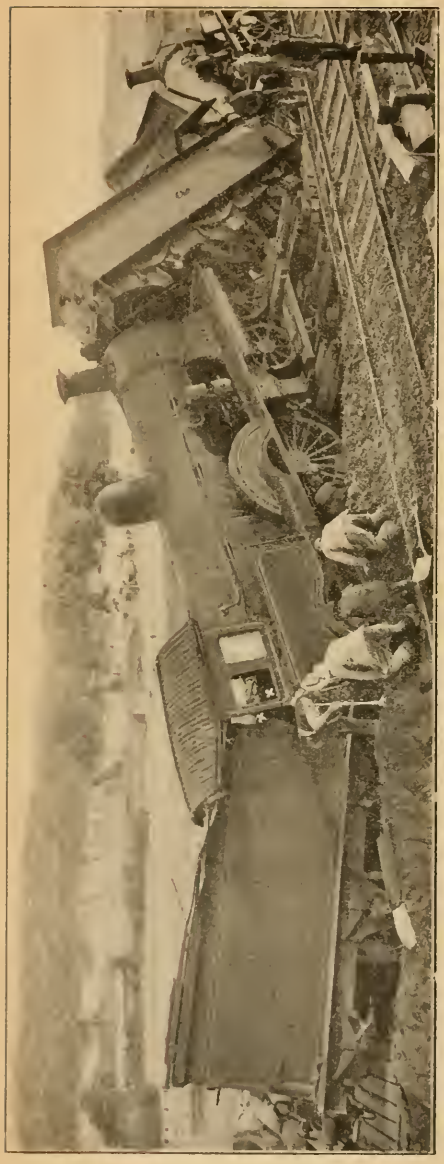


Photo. by courtesy "Weekly Times."
The Terrible Railway Accident at Beaufort, Victoria, where a heavily-laden double headed wheat train ran into a dead-end, one driver and two firemen being killed.

Charles Feldhausen, a Russian Pole, who at his trial worked himself into a fine frenzy. He acknowledged himself an atheist, an anarchist, and a revolutionist, and was in possession of a revolver when arrested. This is the kind of individual who has been responsible for so much of the disaffection. There are several men of this hope in the so-called Socialist party, especially in Sydney, and their influence is very far indeed from good. If the Act introduced by Mr. Wade will have the effect of teaching these wild revolutionists that the country is a law-abiding one, and that grievances are to be redressed constitutionally, it will have a fine effect. For the men who have had to put up with hard conditions and insufficient wages we have the fullest sympathy, but no sympathy at all with the strike. We are a law loving people. We believe in law. Our liberties are founded on law, and no one can complain if by proper constitutional means the Labour Party gets all that it wants in that field. There is to be got a fair fight, and every section of the community can take its part if it is sufficiently interested. If it is not, it cannot grumble if the interested ones get what they seek.

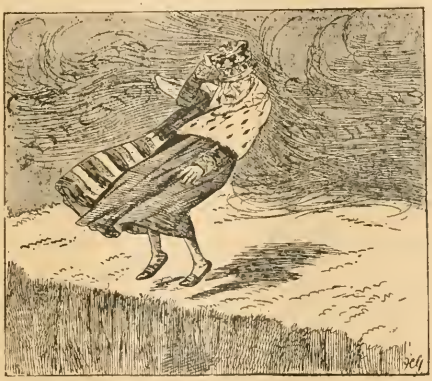
Wiser Counsels.

Fortunately wiser counsels are now prevailing. The South men have returned to work, and it is probable that the Northern men will have done the same by the time this reaches our readers. Judge Scholes has been instrumental in getting the parties together on the understanding on the one side that the men return to work, and on the other side that the grievances should be fully and openly considered. This is the very objective which was desired in the beginning, but rendered impossible by the men who now are in gaol. Thus is ending one of the most unhappy strikes that Australia has known, also one of the most futile as far as the gaining of their objective by the miners is concerned. They will certainly get just as much justice as they would have done had they agreed to this in the first instance.

LONDON, January 1st, 1910.

The General Election.

The New Year—the twenty first in which I have addressed my readers and subscribers in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS—opens with a direct challenge to seven or eight millions of male adult citizens of the United Kingdom to say at the ballot-box how they desire the country to be governed. Seldom has a clearer issue been presented to the electorate at a General Election. Do they wish to govern themselves in the fashion of their ancestors by the ancient historical English fashion of electing a House of Commons to give effect to their wishes, or do they wish to hand over the responsibility of governing to a tiny group of 600 persons who happen to be born Peers of the Realm? That is the dominant issue. Does the democracy desire to abdicate? Is it the opinion of the individual elector that representative government by elected persons is played out, and that in the future the government of this Empire must be vested in an oligarchy predominantly plutocratic? Every candidate who appeals for the suffrages of the electors in the name of the Opposition asks them to elect him to betray the privileges of the House which he is seeking to enter. For centuries the Commons House of Parliament has possessed "uncontrolled"—it is Mr. Balfour's own word—the right of dealing with the finances of the country. The Peers have challenged this uncontrolled right. They have arrogated to themselves the right of refusing the Crown supplies which have been voted by the House of Commons. If that usurpation is condoned the control of the finances, and with it the making and the unmaking of the Executive Government, passes from the hands of the representative elective Chamber, which is liable to dissolution, to those of the hereditary non-representative Chamber, which has no constituents and which is responsible to nobody. Peers or People: which shall rule? It is for the people to decide.



Westminster Gazette.]

Much too Bracing.

The D——d Consequences (with apologies to Lord Milner).

The Probable Result.

These pages will reach the eye of the reader as the first polls are being taken. But the result can hardly be regarded as being in doubt. It has been wittily said Judas would have had small chance of being elected as an apostle if he had based his candidature upon a frank avowal that he wanted the post in order to betray his Master. There is not a Unionist candidate seeking election who is not asking to be elected to the House of Commons in order to betray, not merely its privileges, but its very life and soul, into the hands of its rival. Englishmen are not fools. They are men of business

Pall Mall Gazette.]

Among the Lions.

DANIEL: "Oh, dear! Oh, dear! I wonder who will make the *after-dinner* speech!"

They are not likely to select as trustees men who have been detected in the embezzlement of trust funds. They will not elect members to the House of Commons in order to destroy the House of Commons by surrendering its most precious trust to a hereditary oligarchy. Democracies sometimes abdicate their power in favour of a Cæsar. There is no case on record in which a self-governing nation has surrendered the right of representative government at the bidding of an aristocracy. It is inconceivable that the British people, who have won their liberties step by step through long centuries of stubborn conflict against hereditary monarchs and hereditary Peers, have so far lost their traditional and hereditary character as to commit so unprecedented an act of political suicide. It is a case of the hereditary instinct and temperament of a whole nation against a handful of hereditary Peers—and Englishmen would have ceased to be English if they consented to so great an apostasy.

The Predominant Partner.

I say Englishmen, because it is only in England that the advocates of abdication profess to have any hope of obtaining a hearing. Elsewhere—in Scotland, in Ireland, in Wales—they admit frankly they have not even an off-chance of success. The Celtic fringe has had enough of Peer rule. In England, and in England alone, do the traitors to the Crown, the Commons, and the Constitution profess to meet with any response to their impudent appeal that the people should abdicate the supreme function of government into the hands of the Peers. England is a very conservative country, no doubt. If proof were needed we have it in the fact that in England alone of all the countries in the world an exclusively hereditary Chamber has been permitted to survive. But the English, although conservative, are, as the Germans often say with a certain envious admiration, "*sehr praktisch.*" They have

Westminster Gazette.]

Among the Lions—A Sequel.

KING BALFOUR: "Aren't you dead yet?"
DANIEL: "Dead? Not a bit of it—but the lions aren't looking well!"

Westminster Gazette.]

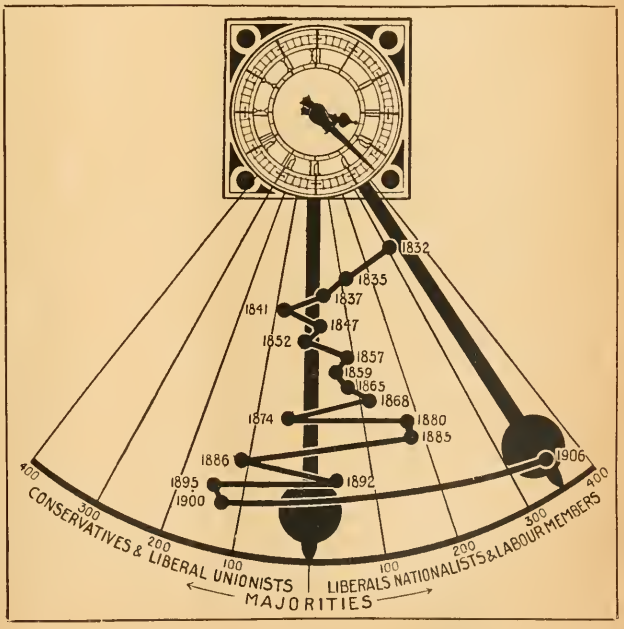
Pal-iation.

THE PAL (Mr. Lyttelton): "What's all this pother about, constable? The gentleman 'll give up the bag in a minute if he's asked for it properly. He only took it just to see if the old gentleman *really* wanted it!"

tolerated the hereditary Chamber as the citizens of London tolerate the gilded coach of the Lord Mayor. It was ancient, it was a curiosity, and as it only played a part in an occasional pageant nobody minded. But if a Lord Mayor arose who tried to substitute his gilded coach for railway carriages and motor-cars, we need not say what the result would be. The House of Lords has made the great mistake of taking itself seriously, and the English, with their severely practical instinct, see that this kind of thing will never do. Hence I anticipate that whatever the conservative English masses may think about the Budget or about the Government, they will not make a bonfire of popular government merely in order to burn the former or eject the latter. With a folly so incredible as only to be explicable on the theory of *prius dementat*, the Opposition have bound up the cause of their party with the destruction of representative government. They hotly deny this. But to deprive the House of Commons of its uncontrolled right over finance is like depriving a man of his head. It is not a twelfth of his body, but when that goes there is only a corpse left.

The One and Only Danger.

There are some who imagine—the wish being father to the thought—that the swing of the pendulum, the cry about unemployment, the clamour for Tariff Reform, the dread of Home Rule, and the Navy scare will lead the majority of the electors to condone the treason of the Peers in order to defeat the Government. Not one of these causes by itself, nor all of them taken together, constitutes any element of danger. The pendulum does not swing when rude hands are being laid upon the clock in order to deprive it of any control over the hands. The cry about unemployment is obviously dishonest, when unemployment has decreased steadily since the Budget has been introduced, and when it is a demonstrable certainty that the immediate effect of rejecting the Budget would be to increase unemployment by shaking the very foundations of British industry. As for Tariff Reform, that under all its aliases is the most fatal impediment to the success of the Opposition.



No one knows what it means, least of all those who put it forward, but everyone knows that it would increase the cost of bread and meat and destroy the position of Britain as the free mart of the world. As for Home Rule, the British elector only thinks about one thing at a time, and there is no substance in a Navy scare when the leaders of the Opposition confine themselves to flatulent generalities in alluding to the subject. The only result of their coquetry with the scaremongers is to encourage the belief that if they were in power they would introduce conscription in order to make war, and the electors who are still smarting under the memory of the military disasters in South Africa brought about by Milner, Chamberlain, Lansdowne, and Midleton, do not hanker after another taste of the same medicine in a still larger and more poisonous dose. No; there is only one danger ahead, and that danger is the publican. Bung and Boniface are the only supporters of the Peers who count for a row of pins in this Election. If they were out of the contest the Liberals would probably come back with a majority of four hundred. As they are not out of it, but in it up to the neck, we shall do well not to count upon a greater majority than two hundred.

The Probable Majority.

In giving these figures, which I frankly admit are based upon no such elaborate calculation as enabled me to predict the strength of the majority elected in 1906—the materials for that are non-existent—I exclude the Irish Nationalists. Of these there will be 86 in the new House, so that upon any vote against the Peers the adverse majority would be 286, for the Nationalists are against the Peers to the very last man. Upon any other minor issues on which it is conceivable they might vote with the Opposition the Liberal and Labour majority would still be 114, almost as great as what was once regarded as the phenomenal Liberal majorities of 1868 and 1880. As there will probably be fifty Labour members in the new Parliament, the Liberals would, if my anticipations turn out correct, have a majority of a baker's dozen against all other parties combined. Such a combination is, however, hardly thinkable. It is impossible to imagine any question that could combine Tories, Nationalists and the Labour men against the Government. The Liberal majority, excluding the Irish, was 86 in 1885 and 271 in 1906. In 1892, including the Irish, it was only 40. At the great historic landslide of 1906 the Liberals captured 226 seats and lost 13, making a net gain of 213. If the Opposition make a net gain of 36 seats this month, it will bring the Liberal majority to the figures of my guess.

Grounds for Confidence.

This estimate, that the Liberals will only lose thirty-six seats net, is contrary to the calculation at Liberal headquarters, where the opinion prevails that in 1906 they captured seventy seats which had always been Tory, and which they expect will relapse to the Tories at the present election. In that case the majority instead of being 200 would be reduced to 132. My reasons for my more sanguine estimate are as follows: (1) The nature of the challenge addressed by the Peers to the nation. Never before have the electors been asked to use their votes to render all subsequent votes of no value. (2) The popularity of the Budget, which appeals to the masses as strongly as it offends the classes. (3) The fact that nothing is more certain in English history than that the Liberals when united are always in a majority. Their defeats can always be traced to the disaffection or open revolt of some section. At this Election the Liberals are united as one man in resisting the arrogant aggression of the Peers. Even the differences between the Liberals and the Labour men have been so far adjusted that it is not expected more than six seats will be sacrificed by three-cornered contests. (4) The absence of any well-defined, intelligible alternative policy to that put forward by the Budget. It is admitted an extra sixteen millions must be raised. Beyond mumbling "Tariff Reform"—which is almost as intelligible as that blessed word Mesopotamia—the leaders of the Opposition have made no attempt to explain how they propose to raise that money. (5) The revival by Mr. Austen Chamberlain of the proposal to tax the bread and meat of the people, without even attempting to offer an equivalent reduction in taxes on tea, coffee and sugar, has given fresh force to the cry of "Your food will cost you more," with its picturesque symbol of the big and little loaf. And (6) the hopeless ineptitude and lack of light and leading on the part of the leaders of the Conservative Party. On the platform they have hardly a single speaker who is of more than second-rate rank, and the titled essayists like Lord Curzon and Lord Milner would have been more useful to their party if they had never recited their essays in public. On the one hand there is a united, enthusiastic, and even passionately indignant party fighting on the defensive for the most cherished of all English liberties. On the other, there is a rabble of selfish interests, leaderless save for the inspiration of the tap-room, without a definite

policy save that of making a frontal attack upon cheap food and representative government.

The Collapse of Mr. Balfour.

There is one feature in this Election which fills me with profound uneasiness, and that is the utter disappearance of any vestige of courage or of leadership from the Conservative ranks. Lord Curzon and Lord Milner no doubt have courage enough to "damn the consequences," but although they have zeal, it is not according to knowledge, and their strategy, although it may be magnificent, is not war. Lord Percy, who was regarded in some quarters as heir presumptive to the Conservative leadership, is unfortunately dead: Mr. Austen Chamberlain cannot even agree with his invalid father on the vital question of food taxation. Lord Hugh Cecil, who has brains enough, is a sworn Free Trader. Lord Lansdowne is silent. Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Balfour alone, can speak for the Opposition. And most unfortunately he was laid up last month by one of those constantly recurring attacks of influenza, or some related ailment, which always send him to bed when a crisis requires his presence in the front. Before he was laid up he emitted a long feckless address to his constituents, the general ineffectiveness of which led unkind critics to say that whatever was the matter with Mr. Balfour, his address had influenza to a certainty. After his recovery he made his first public speech at Haddington, which was an even greater disappointment than his address to the electors of the City. It had not even the ring of defiance. Instead of a clarion cry to rally the clans, it was but the wheezing squeak of a penny trumpet. It left the country entirely in the dark as to what Mr. Balfour would do if he were recalled to office. On the vital question of the Navy he took refuge in platitudinous generalities. As to Tariff Reform, he mentioned it only to pass it by. And all that he could say to inspirit his party was that he felt sure they would win—"sooner or later!"—which being interpreted means in the sweet by-and-by.

Photograph by [*Russell and Sons.*

The late Earl Percy, M.P.

Where does Mr. Balfour stand?

The answer to the question as to where Mr. Balfour stands recalls the familiar conundrum, "Where was Moses when the candle went out?" The answer, "In the dark," is not less true of Mr. Balfour. He has too much brain to be a Protectionist, he has not the power to silence his evil genius, Mr. Chamberlain, and so he is compelled to prate of a fiscal reform which he vaguely describes as a great change, the limits of which he never even attempts to define. He has either not made up his mind, or, having made it up, fails to see any way in which he can make his exceedingly limited nostrum palatable to the thoroughgoing Protectionists who constitute the real driving-power of the Tariff Reform party. Such a condition of philosophic doubt, such an indeterminate attitude, is fatal to a political leader on the eve of a great popular crisis. If we make Mr. Balfour Prime Minister, the first thing he will have to do will be to raise at least sixteen and probably twenty millions of extra taxation. How will he do it? He does not tell us. In the House of Commons he said, much to the dismay of his followers, that he would enforce most of the taxes, excepting those on land and liquor, proposed by Mr. Lloyd George. But he has not dared to repeat this admission in his electoral addresses. How will he raise the balance, for even Unionist Ministries must choke the deficit? By taxes on imports? If so, on what imports and on what scale? Never a word says he. Yet upon the answer to that question the immediate future of English industry would depend if—which is fortunately impossible—Mr. Balfour were returned to power. Is it worthy of this great nation that in a matter vital to its trade and prosperity it should be treated by Mr. Balfour as nurses treat infants in the nursery? "Open your mouth and shut your eyes, and see what the gods will send you," the deities in this case being of infernal rather than celestial origin.

The Future of the Navy.

There is another vital question on which the safety of the Empire depends—the maintenance of the supremacy of the Navy. Neither in his address nor in his speech did Mr. Balfour venture beyond more or less ungenerous criticisms of the Government. To a patriot statesman who realises what the Fleet means to us, how paramount is the question of its strength and efficiency, and who

Westminster Gazette.]

Two Good Reasons.

SCARE DRUMMER (Earl Cawdor): "You *must* vote for the Unionists! There's a great war coming!"

MR. BULL: "Rubbish! In the first place I don't believe in these inevitable wars, and even if I did I certainly shouldn't vote for a party which made such a muddle of the last one!"

knows also how far one section of the Liberal Party is from realising these truths, this crisis was a golden opportunity of serving the Navy, of serving the country, and of establishing his own reputation. If Mr. Balfour had declared that the Navy was a question too vital for party recriminations, and that he intended to give his ungrudging support to any Government in its efforts to maintain the British Navy on a basis of two keels to one, he would have done more to secure the adoption of that standard of strength than a lifetime of carping, snarling criticism of the shortcomings of the present Government. The fact is that the programme of two keels to one can only be maintained if the two great parties on the Navy question act as one. Nothing but the unstinted support of the leader of the Opposition will enable Mr. Asquith to overcome the mutiny that will be threatened in his own ranks when he proposes to increase the Navy estimates this year by five millions sterling. Yet they will have to be so increased if the two-to-one standard is not to be abandoned. It is impossible to keep up a two-to-one superiority of the British Navy over its next stronger competitor when that competitor this year is spending 20 per cent. more on shipbuilding construction than we spent in 1909. It is a hateful and hideous necessity, but we have no alternative. Yet notwithstanding his clear appreciation of the gravity of the crisis, Mr. Balfour has not as yet said a clear, intelligible word as to the naval policy he would pursue, the standard of superiority which he regards as essential, or the sacrifices of party or of cash which he would recommend in order to attain it.

The Lost Leadership of the Opposition.

When leaders flinch from leading, anarchy and confusion set in among their followers. The legitimates having retired from business, the illegitimates seize the opportunity to push their pretensions. Hence we have witnessed last month a curious series of attempts on the part of pretenders to Mr. Balfour's throne to lead the party. The first in order of time was the editor of the *Birmingham Daily Post*, who, sick at heart over the timorous attitude of the Unionists on the subject of Tariff Reform, boldly propounded an alternative Budget for the party based upon the taxation of the food of the wage-earners in order to save the pockets of the plutocrat. The second was Lord Northcliffe, who, forgetting the warning he sent from Berlin when his public was going crazy over the scare of German airships, deemed the situation so desperate as to justify him in using the proffered services of a Socialist editor in order to work up a great German scare in the columns of the *Daily Mail*. The third was Lord Curzon, who, finding that he was the most conspicuous Peer on the platform, undertook a propaganda in favour of the divine right of the House of Lords to govern the country and to look after the House of Commons, which being representative only of the mere democracy, was "not fit to be left alone." There were others. Among the rest a select bunch of noble Lords. About twenty out of 600 condescended to defend their order by submitting to be heckled on the public platform; but these were the chief. The net result of leaving these illegitimates to lead the party is that at the moment the Unionist programme appears to the public to be thus formulated by its loudest mouthpieces: "Protection and Dear Food, Conscription and War, and Damn the Commons."

The Liberal Programme.

Mr. Asquith, in a great meeting at the Albert Hall in December, formulated the Liberal programme. Here is the text of his pledge on the subject of the House of Lords:—

"We shall not assume office, and we shall not hold office unless we can secure the safeguards which experience shows to be necessary to the legislative utility and honour of the party of progress . . . We are going to ask the country to give us authority to apply an effective remedy to intolerable conditions." There was no intention of abolishing the House of Lords or of setting up a Single Chamber. But the "absolute veto" must go, the power of forcing a dissolution must go, and "the will of the people, as deliberately expressed by their elected representatives, must, within the limits of the lifetime of a single Parliament, be made effective."

The only other passage of his speech that needs to be quoted here is the pledge which he gave to the Home Rulers, a pledge with which the Irish have expressed themselves as entirely satisfied :—

Mr. Asquith described Home Rule as "a policy which, while explicitly safeguarding the supreme and indefeasible authority of the Imperial Parliament, will set up in Ireland a system of full self-government in regard to purely Irish affairs. There is not, and there cannot be, any question of Separation. There is not, and there cannot be, any question of rival or competing supremacies. But, subject to these conditions, that is the Liberal policy."

Note the grim humour of the resolution passed by the Irish Nationalist party :—

We observe with great pleasure that this declaration of the Prime Minister has been universally denounced by the Unionist press of England as a revival of Home Rule in its worst form and a return to the position of Mr. Gladstone.

Therefore the Irish vote is to be thrown everywhere against the candidates of the Peers.

Mr. Lloyd George.

Mr. Lloyd George's speeches give the enemy as much cause to blaspheme as they give the rank and file of his own party occasion of riotous enthusiasm. I have only heard one of his great efforts, the address which he delivered to the Nonconformists in the Queen's Hall. It was not only a great effort: it was a great achievement. Mr. Lloyd George was suffering from a cold, and the occasion was one which might have tempted him to over-vehemence. But the prevailing note of his speech was one of studied and elaborate moderation. Never was a Court of scandalous Injustice arraigned with such sweet reasonableness of argument and flawless temper. His case has not only never been answered. His critics, by abandoning even the attempt to answer it, have admitted that it was unanswerable. Only now and again the fiery flash of Celtic passion blazed out in his speech, which was for the most part lit up with the lambent summer lightning of a never-failing humour. I have heard most of the great orators of my generation, and I do not hesitate to say that Mr. Lloyd George's Queen's Hall address, for all the qualities which move and convince an audience, was one of the three or four greatest speeches to which I have ever listened. Mr. Lloyd George has won his right to stand as an orator beside Mr. Bright, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Rosebery and Mr. Chamberlain. If his health lasts and he can hold himself in, this will be universally recognised even by those who, like Mr. Maxse, are now ransacking the dictionary in order to find strong enough words of abuse to hurl at his head.

Mr. Winston Churchill.

The electoral campaign opened with a dashing tour round Lancashire undertaken by Mr. Winston Churchill. It was a *tour de force* which was rewarded by immediate success. Mr. Churchill, although not a popular orator like Mr. Lloyd George—he prepares his speeches too elaborately and sticks to his MSS. too closely—is a master in the art of lucid and vigorous exposition. He has a strong provocative style, which is the most challenging thing in politics at present. He is a hard hitter, and his speeches rouse the same kind of enthusiasm that is excited in an Adelphi audience by the dramatic representation of the famous prize-fight in Conan Doyle's "Rodney Stone." His speeches read well, are reported fully, and it would be difficult to over-estimate their value among the political assets of the party. His address to the electors of Dundee is very vigorous, and its closing touch about the possibility of a nation losing its soul was as striking as it was unexpected. These youngsters of the Cabinet monopolise the limelight. Mr. Haldane has been laid up. Sir Edward Grey makes admirable speeches in the Northumbrian wilds, where it seems to be beyond the reach of journalistic enterprise to report them in full. The only other Cabinet Minister who has been speaking much is Mr. John Burns, who is fighting a good fight at Battersea, which he describes as "the cockpit of the General Election." If Mr. Burns had made during the Session one or two of the capital speeches he is now delivering every night to meetings alternately private and public in Battersea, he would have been better reported and more considered. His prolonged silence during last Session was misunderstood and did him harm. No public man can sulk in his tent for long without running the risk of being forgotten, no matter how great his services may have been or how transcendent his capacity.

Frederick Greenwood.

The death of Frederick Greenwood, the first editor and founder alike of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and of the *St. James's Gazette*, removed last month from our midst one of the most important political men of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. To younger men he was only a name, and he is remembered to-day chiefly as the man to whom the Empire owes the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, and the world of letters the discovery of Mr. J. M. Barrie. But to the elders Mr. Greenwood was much more than this. He was a subtle intellectual influence, cold and clear as the winter's sun, which

Photograph by [*R. Haines.*

The late Mr. Frederick Greenwood.

at once illuminated and chilled the political enthusiasms of the day. He was a journalists' journalist in the days when journalism meant the serious discussion of national problems, and not the mere hunt after evanescent sensations. To him and to Mr. Hutton, of the *Spectator*, I owed more than to any other journalists of our time. They were both men of clear vision and plain speech. I detested Mr. Greenwood's Beaconsfieldian policy, but I read his paper through every night before going to bed. The *Pall Mall Gazette* had, as I once phrased it to Mr. Gladstone, a most unfair monopoly of brains, a sentiment in which Mr. Gladstone most heartily concurred. Mr. Greenwood was a man who had only one hero—Lord Beaconsfield; only one bogey—Russia. His style was strong, virile, rather harsh and compelling than persuasive. In his later days he lived in comparative retirement. But he had sufficient of his old *flaire* left to detest the South African War, and to see dimly the magnitude of the problems raised by the British alliance with Japan. He did a good day's work and did honour to his profession. Like many practical men, he had a deep mystical or psychic vein in him, but this only came out in his books or his talk. In his paper he eschewed all such subjects.

Exit Leopold II.

The death of King Leopold of Belgium and the Congo removes from the list of reigning sovereigns one of the ablest of modern monarchs. Had his heart been as good as his brain he would have ranked high among the rulers of men. But intellect without conscience is a poor equipment for a monarch. In another page I state the grounds for my belief that at the beginning he was capable of noble aspirations. But Mammon made him its votary, and the Congo State attests the result of his devotion. A man keen as Shylock, and as merciless, cynical and debauched, he left few behind him to mourn his fate. In the Temple of Fame his statue should be carved in ebony.

Enter Albert I.

The new King, his nephew, ascends the throne with the good word of everyone. Studious and domesticated, he presents a contrast in every point to his predecessor. He is said by those who know him to have a genuine sympathy with the workers, and Socialists and Catholics alike agree that from him much may be expected. He knows the horrors of the Congo at first hand. He has shown no trace of being eaten up by the love of money. No one imputes to him any ambition more dangerous than that of broad-basing his throne upon the confidence and affection of the common people. Belgium, once the cockpit, is now the garden and the workshop of Europe. In Albert I. she seems to have secured a sovereign after her own heart.

The Triumph of the Southern Slavs.

The Austrian Government employed some time ago the distinguished historian Dr. Friedjung to write an article in the *Reichspost* —an article intended to prove the absolute necessity for annexing Bosnia by exposing the threads of an alleged conspiracy between the Servian Government and the leaders of the Slovenski Jug—the National League of the Southern Slavs. This article expressly ascribed the formation of a Croato-Servian Coalition to the initiative of the Belgrade Government, charged four members of the Coalition with corrupt relations with Belgrade, and asserted that its second largest group, the Independent Serb Party, had in return for the paltry sum of twelve thousand francs placed five newspapers at the disposal of Servia. As the names of the alleged culprits were not given, the entire Coalition, consisting of fifty-three out of

the eighty-eight Deputies who form the Croatian Diet, brought an action against Dr. Friedjung, and also the Viennese Clerical newspaper *Reichspost*, which had published similar charges. When the case came on for trial before the Austrian court the case of Dr. Friedjung collapsed very much as the *Times* charges against Mr. Parnell collapsed when Mr. Pigott came into the witness-box. The unfortunate historian relied for his justification upon twenty-four documents supplied by the Austrian Foreign Office. Upon examination in court it was proved that these documents were forgeries, and the case closed by a compromise in which Dr. Friedjung withdrew his charges and the prosecution stopped the proceedings. The sensation produced by this exposure of the scoundrelly methods employed by the Austrian authorities in Croatia has been immense. It is now proved that the annexation of Bosnia was justified by its authors by the production of a series of clumsy forgeries which could not stand investigation for a moment even in the Austrian courts. Not only have the Southern Slavs been triumphantly vindicated, but the whole of the evil system of anti-Slav ascendency has received a blow the ultimate results of which can hardly fail to be most momentous.

The Bagdad Railway Once More.

The air has been full of rumours concerning the reopening of negotiations for the construction of the Bagdad railway, the mention of which acts on our Germanophobes as a red rag on a bull. It would be well, by the way, if the opponents of German enterprise in this direction were to read Sir W. M. Ramsay's account of what has actually been done so far. They would therein learn that so far from the German colonisation of Asia Minor having begun, there are fewer Germans employed on the line than men of other nationalities. M. Pichon has declared himself in favour of the internationalisation of the line. He favoured an arrangement by virtue of which the Russian and British elements would be at complete liberty to participate in the enterprise, and by virtue of which the French element would possess, as regards the construction, the working, and the general direction of the line, a share in all respects equal to that of the most favoured foreign participants. It is an international scandal that this great work of railway construction should be held up by international rivalry, and it will be a feather in Sir E. Grey's cap if he can bring the negotiations to a satisfactory solution.

The Blatchford War Scare.

One of the notable events of the month has been the publication by the *Daily Mail* of a series of alarmist articles by Mr. Blatchford of the *Clarion*, the gist of which is that England should at once begin to raise an army of two million trained soldiers with which to assist France in the defence of her frontiers against Germany. Mr. Blatchford's articles have fallen flat by their exaggeration. Sensible men do not deny the danger of losing the command of the sea for the defence of our own shores, but they shrug their shoulders when they are told that they must undertake the military defence of France. If the Germans be men such as Mr. Blatchford describes, the moment they saw that we were seriously preparing to send a million Englishmen to defend the French frontier they would be certain to forestall us by an immediate march on Paris. I do not deny the dangers which have arisen from the temporary effacement of Russia due to the Japanese War—the German-Austrian is for the time master of the Continent—but that is surely the very worst reason in the world for affording the dominant Power a plausible pretext for waging that preventive war concerning which Mr. R. E. C. Long has much to say in his letter from Berlin, which is published in the *Fortnightly Review*. John Bull has his hands quite full enough in the defence of the British Empire without undertaking to defend the frontiers of the French Republic.

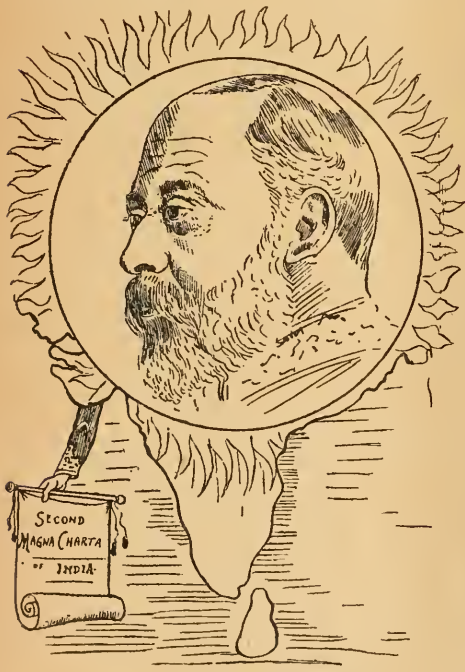
The Recrudescence of Terrorism in Russia.

The temporary lull in Russia in the activity of the Terrorists has been rudely broken by the killing of Colonel Karpoff, the Chief of the St. Petersburg Secret Police, by a revolutionist who appears to have detected the spy's treachery. No one can say now, when any Russian police officer is killed, whether he was not himself suggesting the perpetration of crimes in order to have the credit of "discovering" plots which he himself had hatched. That is the result of the disclosures made as to Azeff and Harting, who seem to be still in safe hiding, if not in actual Government employ. M. Tchaykoffsky has not yet been brought to trial—it is two years, not two months, since his arrest—and judging from the heads of the indictment brought against him, there is no reason why he should not have been brought to trial within a month of his arrest. After all the parade of the evidence that had to be collected, this indictment comes as an anti-climax. Even now there is said to be a possibility that they may try him behind closed doors. But that *bêtise* surely is im-

possible in a statesman like Stolypin. Once more I venture to express a hope that the Russian Government will take the earliest opportunity of making a general gaol delivery of all political prisoners who are not accused of common law crimes. Clemency on a great scale is much safer and more effective than letting out the accused by driblets. But instead of recognising this the authorities have actually tried and sentenced M. Maxim Kovalevsky, a member of the Council of the Empire, to two months' imprisonment for an article published four years ago! Could imbecility further go?

Unrest in India.

Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, the Collector of Nasik, in India, recently passed a sentence of transportation upon a Brahmin on a charge of sedition. A Hindu lad of eighteen, desiring to avenge this sentence, killed Mr. Jackson as he was entering the native theatre. As usual, the assassin killed the wrong man. Mr. Jackson, like Sir Curzon Wyllie, was a friend of the natives, and it is one of the strongest arguments against assassination as a political weapon that it usually spares the worst and smites the best. The same thing may be said about the reprisals and the repression in which Governments indulge. The suppression of the *Swaraj* and the subsequent stoppage of the sale of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS in India are cases in which the advocates of constitutionalism and the opponents of outrage are punished while the really serious organisers of secret outrage go scot free. It is one of the most familiar phenomena of coercion. Authority is used or abused to strike down those who would save the Government from its dangers, and the officials are so busy hunting down the friendly watchmen they have no time or attention to spare for the detection of the real culprits. Even the *Spectator* is constrained to admit that "India cannot be governed by a series of restrictions which contain no seed of progress, no possibility of fructification." For the moment nothing can be done. The high-fliers of the Coercionist school are longing to hear news of a Liberal defeat at the General Election. The advanced men on the native side would regard a Curzonite victory as a justification for the use of any and every weapon of despair.



India's Glorious Sun.

This is how the Reform Bill for India was received by the *Hindi Punch*, Bombay.

The Indian National Congress.

The Indian National Congress at Lahore, after thanking Lords Morley and Minto for their reforms, expressed grave condemnation of the regulations as illiberal, retrogressive, and insulting, and deplored the attempt to foment an anti-national feeling among the Mohammedans. The Congress also decided to send a deputation to England, of whom Mr. Banerjee is to be the leader, to plead once more for the undoing of the partition of Bengal. The proposal excited extraordinary enthusiasm, and in selecting Mr. Banerjee the Congress showed sound sense. No one can more effectively address the British public. But what is wanted is not so much a deputation as a permanent Committee of Indian Nationalists in London in close relation with the Irish Nationalists. The membership of the Committee could be renewed from time to time. But next to having an Indian Nationalist group in Parliament the best thing is to have an Indian Nationalist group just outside the doors of Parliament with authority to act as the representatives of the Indian people whenever the public needed to be enlightened or the attention of Parliament called to their grievances or their aspirations.

The Gladstone Centenary.

The centenary of Mr. Gladstone's birth was made the occasion for the decoration of his statue in the Strand and for various demonstrations in Liberal quarters. The most gratifying incident in the celebration was the presentation of a very beautiful silver wreath by the Bulgarians and the messages of enthusiastic sympathy and gratitude received from Italy, Servia, Montenegro and Greece. The Russians are not given to this fashion of expressing their feelings, but the correspondence of Madame Novikoff, published last year by Mr. Melrose, shows how deep and heartfelt were the sentiments of gratitude entertained by the elder brother of the Slavonic family towards the great English statesman who shattered the Anglo-Turkish alliance and aided Russia to liberate Bulgaria.

The Waterways of England.

The Canals Commission has at last issued its Report. It recommends that Great Britain should follow the example of Germany and France in rescuing her canals from the decay into which they have fallen. The existing companies earn about half a million a year. The Commissioners recommend that a Waterways Board should be formed to acquire, in the first instance, the network of waterways which join the Humber, the Mersey, the Severn and the Thames with the Midlands. They should improve them at a cost of £17,500,000. The annual expenditure would be raised to a million a year. If there was no increase of traffic there would thus be a loss of £500,000 a year. But it is certain the traffic would enormously increase, and industries which now show a tendency to gravitate to the sea coast would locate themselves where they could enjoy cheap water-borne transit. The publication of this Report, signed by all the Commissioners but one, marks another stage on the road towards the nationalisation of railways.

Unconstitutional Constitutionalism.

Both in Constantinople and Athens the Constitutional Government is having some strange experiences. The Committee of Union and Progress at Constantinople being dissatisfied with the Grand Vizier, Hilmi Pasha, ordered him to resign. He has done so, and Hakki Bey has been appointed to succeed him. At Athens the officers of the Military League have advanced a step further towards taking over the complete control of affairs from the hands of the Ministry and the Chamber. The officers may be very much more competent men and purer patriots than the Deputies and the Ministers, but the pretence that the latter are vested with the responsibility of governing the country is wearing very thin. The New Year opened with a deputation from the Officers' League demanding the resignation of the Minister of the Interior, the permanent Session of Parliament through the Christmas holidays, and the immediate passing of some twenty-seven measures. At first the Cabinet made a show of resistance by declaring that it would retire *en bloc* rather than consent to sacrifice the Minister of the Interior, but it was only for a moment. The King convinced the Prime Minister that necessities of State demanded his retention of office, so the Prime Minister continues in office and the Military League rules the roast.

Sir George Lewis.

The news published on New Year's Day that Sir George Lewis is retiring from the profession of which he has long been the most distinguished ornament gave us all a sense of shock and some of us a sense of personal loss. Sir George Lewis has so long reigned as king among the lawyers of London that his retirement is like the abdication of a reigning monarch who makes way for his son and heir in his lifetime. My first acquaintance with Sir George was in the year 1885, when I was informed that he had advised the then proprietor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* to dismiss me instantly, and to announce that fact in the next issue of the paper which I was then editing. I went down to the familiar office in Ely Place and made the acquaintance of Sir George Lewis. He told me quite frankly the advice which he had given to my proprietor, advice which Mr. Yates Thompson was generous enough not to act upon; and the ground being thus cleared, he listened attentively to what I had to say as to my motives and objects in publishing "The Maiden Tribute." From that moment I found in Sir George one of my best and staunchest of friends. During the quarter of a century that has elapsed since that famous interview I have always hastened to Sir George as to a port in a storm whenever legal difficulties lowered threatening on the horizon, and I have always found him a counsellor both wise and shrewd, and "a friend in need who is a friend indeed." If Sir George Lewis would write his reminiscences they would have to be deposited in the safe of the British Museum for the next hundred years under seal, and then opened for the instruction, if not exactly for the edification, of posterity. But he has always protested that he never put on paper any of the innumerable secrets which

have been communicated to him in the course of his long professional career. I, and not I alone, feel somewhat lonesome now that the protecting shield is no longer extended over our heads. Let us hope that as an Amurath an Amurath succeeds, young George Lewis may inherit the mantle of his distinguished sire.

"Our Congo in the Pacific."

I published last July a note asking, on the strength of information supplied to me by one who seemed to be in a position to speak with some authority, whether it would not be well to be sure—when we were swearing at large about the Congo—that our own hands were clean. I then set forth various complaints which my informant brought against the administration of Ocean Island in the Pacific, and asked for information. I have now received it from the Colonial Office, and am glad to find that the local authorities have an apparently conclusive answer. So far from Ocean Island being a miniature Congo it seems to be a terrestrial paradise. Mr. Mahaffy, assistant to the High Commissioner, who has just spent four months on Ocean Island, declares that "I do not think that in any part of the world better or more considerate treatment is meted out to native labour." He says that he personally got to know every member of the native community, and he vouches for it that they have no grievances, and that it is impossible to find any native of Ocean Island who is not well-fed and well cared for. There is no forced labour of any kind,—no corporal punishment. 476 natives now receive £3,000 per annum for their land and labour. They are tended when sick, supplied with food and water—which the company has to condense for their use—in short, the British State and the Phosphate Company instead of being a brace of Vampires are veritable Guardian Angels. I am very glad to hear it, and regret my informant should have been so far off the track.

Those who have Passed On.

Last month Death, who "ever loves a shining mark," summoned some whose removal roused an almost resentful remonstrance from the survivors. The Hon. Archie Gordon, the son of Lord and Lady Aberdeen, was on the threshold of what promised to be a brilliant career. He was a young man of noble character, of great talent, the inheritor of a great name, who hoped in a few months to have been united in marriage with the daughter of the Prime Minister. Suddenly he was caught in a motor accident, and there was an unexpected transfer of his radiant energy to another plane. Earl Percy's sudden death from pneumonia was hardly less bitter. These young men might, had they lived, have been Prime Ministers in their turn. The same month hurried them both away to a sphere of activity in which they are more needed even than here—although here, heaven knows! we needed them sorely enough. In another department we have lost another enthusiastic wŏrker who could ill be spared. The sudden death of Meta Illing at the early age of thirty seven, while she was carrying on her great enterprise of an Anglo-German *entente* to be promoted by utilising the stage, came as a rude shock upon her many friends, to whom she always seemed the incarnation of life. Among the elders we have to mourn Dr. Mond, whose magnificent bequest to the National Gallery shows that the so-called alien has much to teach the native-born in the art of munificence; Sir Alfred Jones, who has accompanied his patron and prince, King Leopold, into the shades; Lord Brabourne, and many others. December has been a month of mourning for many households—especially for those who mourn without hope.

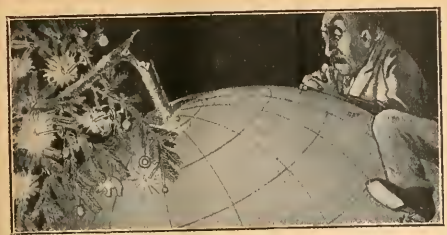
Photograph by [*Bassano.*

The Hon. A. Gordon.

Youngest son of Lord Aberdeen, who died as the result of a motor accident. He was engaged to be married to the Prime Minister's daughter, Miss Violet Asquith.

Alas! poor Cook.

The University of Copenhagen, having been placed in possession of the documents which Dr. Cook considered were sufficient to enable them to at least pronounce a preliminary verdict as to his claim to have reached the North Pole, has decided against him. Dr. Cook claims that he has still further proofs and documents at Etah, in Greenland, but it is evident that the statements which he



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Cook's Christmas Tree.

COOK: "Alas! it is broken; weighed down by too many proofs."

has submitted to the University do not inspire the Committee with any confidence in the accuracy of his assertions. At the same time comes the news that the Explorers' Club of America have decided against all his claims to have made the ascent of Mount McKinley. Dr. Cook himself has disappeared. So ends a very remarkable chapter in the history of Arctic exploration. Mr. Philip Gibbs, of the *Daily Chronicle*, more than any other man, deserves the credit of having discerned from the first the baselessness of Dr. Cook's claims. For my part I still retain the opinion which I expressed from the first—namely, that while whether Dr. Cook got to the Pole or not was a question upon which men might differ, there could be no difference of opinion as to the genuineness of Dr. Cook's belief that he had been there. In other words, that Dr. Cook himself was the victim of a hallucination. That seems the only hypothesis that fits the facts.

The Age of Consent.

I publish elsewhere a brief survey of the good work done by Mr. Herbert Gladstone at the Home Office. It is much to be regretted that he had not an opportunity of crowning his legislative career by passing a Bill for raising the age of consent. Just before he left office he received a very influentially signed memorial appealing to him to amend the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 by substituting eighteen for sixteen as the apparent age of the girl who is declared by law to be incapable of assenting to her own undoing. Mr. Gladstone expressed his cordial sympathy with the object of the memorialists, but of necessity relegated the duty of making this much-needed reform to his successor. I hope that the memorialists, who include thirty-five Archbishops and Bishops, a dozen Peers, and eighty-one Members of Parliament, will introduce what ought to be a non-contentious measure in the first Session of the next Parliament.

American Foreign Policy.

President Taft's Presidential Message is chiefly interesting to us in the Old World because of its reference to foreign affairs. Sixteen of its forty-two pages were devoted to foreign affairs, a significant indication of the extent to which the United States has abandoned its policy of splendid isolation. President Taft declared that neither the Monroe nor any other doctrine of American diplomacy must be "permitted to operate for the perpetuation of an irresponsible government, for the escape of just obligations, or for insidious allegations as to dominating ambitions in their past use." The practical application of this doctrine is to be seen in the action taken by the American Government and Nicaragua. The old tyrant Zelaya, who had worn out the patience of his subjects and had incidentally trodden on the toes of Uncle Sam, is now a refugee on his way to Europe. General Estrada has captured the entire forces of the Government, and will probably become President. Let us hope that he will govern more as a civilised man and less as a savage than did his predecessor. President Taft made a speech on foreign affairs in which he referred very significantly to the new conception of duty with regard to other nations that animates the American people to-day. Speaking at the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of the Methodist Missions in Africa, Mr. Taft explicitly repudiated the old policy of non-intervention. He said, "Now we are a nation with tremendous power and wealth, and unless we use that power for the benefit of our international neighbours—and they are neighbours of ours, for the world is very small—

Minneapolis Journal.]

Central America.

The big fellows propose to see that he behaves himself.

we shall be failing to discharge duties we ought to fulfil as members of the international community." This is all very fine and large, and so long as this benevolent intention of using tremendous strength for the benefit of others is faithfully carried out in spirit and not in letter, no one will have any reason to complain. But we are only too familiar with the way in which similar grandiose sentiments in the mouths of non-American statesmen have heralded policies of unmitigated selfishness and unwarrantable aggression upon the rights and possessions of other nations. Fortunately this is as clearly appreciated by the best Americans, Mr. Taft included, as by anyone else, but it is a temptation which besets all holders of "tremendous power."

Mr. Hearst's Peace Crusade.

Mr. W. R. Hearst celebrated Christmas Day by proposing to England, Germany, the United States, Japan and Russia to form a holy alliance for the purpose of preventing war throughout the world, and incidentally of delivering humanity from the plague of military and naval armaments. Mr. Carnegie, of course, gave the scheme his blessing. But an armed league against war will never have a chance of success until its promoters convert the American Government. What is the use of American journalists and American public men like Mr. Carnegie exhorting the Kaiser, the Tsar, and the Mikado to pool their forces in order to put down military and naval armaments until they have converted the President of the United States? As a matter of fact, this is not the road by which peace will be maintained. The American Government has a great opportunity in the initiative which it has taken in the founding of an International Supreme Court. If Mr. Taft wishes to help humanity along the road to peace his duty is clear. Let him take up the task which his predecessor was unable to finish and begin negotiations for the establishment of that Supreme Court which must come into being before anything can be done in the direction of disarmament. If the American people could be roused to declare a boycott on any nation going to war without submitting its differences to the arbitration of that Supreme Court, then the "tremendous power and wealth" of the United States might legitimately come into play in the cause of peace.

The Nobel Peace Prizes.

We have to congratulate Baron d'Estournelles and M. Beernaert as being selected as the recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize of the year 1909. Both men have done yeoman service to the cause of peace at both of the Hague Conferences, and Baron d'Estournelles has been one of the most energetic and devoted advocates of peace and arbitration, both in the Old World and in the New. The other Nobel prize-winners were:—Physics, Mr. William Marconi, and Professor Ferdinand Braun of Strasburg; Chemistry, Professor Wilhelm Ostwald, of Leipzig; Medicine, Professor Theodor Kocher, of Berne; Literature, Mme. Selma Lagerlöf, Sweden. Each prize this year is worth about £7,734.

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We All Hope So!

Impressions of the Theatre, Christmas, 1909.

RUSSIA last month sent one of her most talented and most beautiful actresses in the person of Princess Bariatinsky to reveal to the London public something of the genius of the Russian stage. The Afternoon Theatre at His Majesty's has done much that is excellent since it was started. But it has done nothing so audacious in its intrepidity as placing a Russian company to act in Russian, not merely Russian plays, but "La Dame aux Camelias," "Hedda Gabler," etc. No severer test of dramatic talent can be devised than by subjecting the players to the ordeal of saying all their words in a language totally unknown to the audience. The appeal is almost entirely to the eye and to the cadence of inarticulate sounds. It was a great triumph for Princess Bariatinsky to have achieved success under such conditions. But she has great gifts, youth, beauty, grace, and immense capacity for permitting herself to be possessed by the soul of the characters she represents.

The Princess Bariatinsky was but a passing phantom of delight. A much more permanent contribution to the theatrical life of London was provided us in the production of Maeterlinck's "Blue Bird" at the "Haymarket." Maeterlinck is not a Russian, but a Belgian. Nevertheless, if the Russian had not found out and appreciated the wondrous elusive magical beauty of his mystical play, it is doubtful whether even the French would have ventured to bring it out in London. As it is, the immense success of the play in Russia, where it is played at this moment by fifty-nine companies in the provinces, encouraged the experiment at the Haymarket. It has been from the first a huge and unqualified success. All seats are booked up to February, and the *queues* at the doors of the pit and gallery are phenomenal in their dimensions. Maeterlinck's "Blue Bird" is Happiness, which the human race ceaselessly pursues and clutches, only to find that it escapes their grasp. It is like a brand-new set of nursery tales shot through and through with mysticism, poetry, and philosophy. The children revel in the fairy story, the elders muse and puzzle their heads over the subtle meaning of the author, which is often as elusive as the Blue Bird. There is profound truth in much of its teaching. The discovery of the children that there are no dead, and the earlier discovery that the so-called dead revive whenever we think of them, possesses a profound truth. For the dead live when quickened to life by the loving thought of those whom they have left behind. Not less true, although more pathetic, is the inability of the typical humans to recognise the loyalty and devotion of the faithful dog, or to see through the hypocritical false love of the cat. There are worlds of subtle meaning in every scene of the marvellous play, which differs from an ordinary pantomime as a summer sunset differs from a painted ale-house sign.

"Where Children Rule," at the Garrick Theatre, is a play for children full of rollicking humour, popular with the young folks, and not unliked by the old. But it is not to be compared with the "Blue Bird." It is more on a par with "Peter Pan," that perennial favourite, who is once more delighting crowded houses of those who see it for the first time, and the still greater multitudes who have seen it before, and who must see it at least once more for the sake of Auld Lang Syne. For "Peter Pan" has become an institution—like Father Christmas—and the play never wearies, just as Peter never grew up. "Pinkie and the Fairies," another children's play, enters upon its second year at His Majesty's. Of pantomimes proper, "Aladdin" supplies the story for both the Lyceum and Drury Lane. They are not pantomimes at all in the old sense, but marvellous displays of the ingenuity of the stage carpenter and the resources of the wardrobe. They are marvellous boxes of tricks with kaleidoscope combinations, enlivened with thrilling adventures and comic interludes. They need to be startling, sensational and spectacular, for the Drury Lane pantomime is five hours long!

A play of an altogether different kind is "Sir Walter Ralegh" at the Lyric, where Mr. Lewis Waller still delights bevies of adoring damsels by the knightly gallantry with which he makes love to his fair lady, dares the jealousy of his Queen, and faces in a furious hand-to-hand combat the perfidious Papist conspirators who are working in the interest of Spain. As a specimen of historical melodrama it is the best thing of its kind now on the stage in London.

The last play I went to see last year was "Fallen Fairies," Sir W. S. Gilbert's musical comedy, at the Savoy. It has fairies in its title. But there is nothing of fairyland in the piece itself. The so-called fairies are more or less beautiful young women, forty or fifty in number, who are supposed to live in a world where sex-passion is unknown. To them enter two mortal men, swashbuckling knights, who typify the masculine element. Immediately, all the forty or fifty beautiful young women, hitherto devoid of sex instinct, find their latent womanhood revive, and they precipitate themselves one over the other in offering passionate homage to the brutal specimens of the male which have obtruded upon their cloistered innocence. The dresses are very pretty, and the girls many of them very good-looking. But the suggestion of the piece is one of the most defiant assertions that I have ever seen on the stage of the omnipotent attraction which the male human animal is supposed to possess by mere virtue of his maleness over the most refined and virtuous of women. The music of Mr. Edward German is very popular, containing as it does many of those catchy and tuneful numbers so dear to the lovers of musical comedy.

Photograph by] [*C. Vandyk, Buckingham Palace Road.*

A CHARACTERISTIC PORTRAIT OF MR. HERBERT GLADSTONE.

CHARACTER SKETCH.

HERBERT GLADSTONE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF UNITED SOUTH AFRICA.

"WE have found him a good son; I think his sisters and brothers have found him a good brother; and you have found him a good friend and neighbour." Such was the tribute which Mr. W. E. Gladstone bore to his youngest son Herbert when he responded to the enthusiastic welcome given by the villagers of Hawarden to the newly returned M.P. for Leeds in 1880. Since then he has proved himself a good husband and a good father, a good Member of Parliament, and a good Minister of State. There is therefore every reason for confident expectation that South Africa will find him a good Governor-General.

Herbert Gladstone has from his youth up been remarkable for discharging the duties of whatever position in which he found himself with regularity and efficiency. He is not a pyrotechnic genius. He has never burnt his fingers by trying to set the Thames on fire. He has been pre-eminently a steady-going, useful, trustworthy member of the community. As he was at Eton so he has been at the Home Office, and so it may safely be predicted he will be in South Africa. He has always been the perfection of ordinary practical good sense. He has never allowed the fame of his father to lure him into ambitious attempts to emulate the stride of the G.O.M. He has never roused the country to enthusiasm by his eloquence, he has not enthralled the House of Commons by skill in debate. Of a modest and retiring disposition, he has never figured conspicuously in the limelight so dear to some of his colleagues. But he has never failed in any of the many positions which he has occupied to give satisfaction to his superiors, to inspire confidence in his subordinates, and to leave behind him a good record of honest work faithfully performed. He is not a circus statesman, as Lord Charles Beresford is a circus admiral. He is loyal to his colleagues, and more anxious to do good work than to claim the credit for doing it.

HIS BOYHOOD.

Born in 1856, Herbert Gladstone is now fifty-four years of age. "An Old Schoolfellow," who contributed to the *Pall Mall Magazine* in 1906 some reminiscences of his life at Eton, describes him as having very much the same kind of character that he subsequently displayed at Westminster. Then, as now, he looked very young for his age; then, as now, he was sturdy of build; and at Eton, as at Westminster, he arrived surrounded by the nimbus of his father's fame. Mr. Gladstone had, just before Herbert came to Eton, taken twopence off the income-tax. In honour of this remission of taxation the newcomer was nicknamed "Tuppence," and "Tuppence" he remained until he left Eton for Oxford. His "Old Schoolfellow" says of "Tuppence," using words which may be used to describe the new Governor-General, "Although extremely popular he was quite inconspicuous"

HIS LIFE AT ETON

He went to the Dame's House of Miss Evans, having Edward and Alfred Lyttelton as his housemates. He is reported to have been keenly interested in politics and in history, but he did not particularly distinguish himself in classics :—

In athletics, Herbert Gladstone was a fair cricketer and fives player, but as "goals" in the field game he was *nulli secundus*. When a crisis came, and a dangerous man had passed long behind, and was dribbling the ball near the goal, "Tuppence" would be as intent as a cat watching a mouse, and, seizing his opportunity, would suddenly snatch off his cap, and gripping it in his left hand dash from between the sticks, his big, round, black eyes all ablaze, and his crisp, dark, curly hair standing up on end. He was very sturdily built, with a fine muscular development, and was an excellent gymnast. His love for the country and its pursuits even at a very early age was quite extraordinary, and besides being a first-rate shot as a boy, he knew a great deal about forestry, and loved every corner of the beautiful Hawarden Park. Of animals "Tuppence" was very fond. One of his earliest deals in live stock was the purchase of a retriever puppy from the Home for Lost Dogs, at Battersea, which lived for many years, and became a very valuable dog, for which I believe he was offered £20.

Music was always a great delight to him, and I particularly recollect his great fondness for part singing, and there were many boys at Miss Evans' at the same time who shared his taste. He had any amount of pluck and presence of mind. He went to Eton very young, but being well grounded, took a good place in the school. At trials he invariably held a satisfactory position in the list without particularly distinguishing himself, and gradually worked his way to sixth form, neither lagging behind nor progressing abnormally, in the company of other boys who had arrived at Eton about the same time. He had wonderful animal spirits, and nothing gave him greater pleasure than a good "bear fight" at his "Dame's," when his sturdy build and muscular development stood him in good stead. He was never what we used to call a "swell," nor had he a vast number of acquaintances, his friends being chiefly drawn from boys in his own house; but those who knew him best declared him to be the cheeriest of companions and one who viewed the world generally through rose-coloured spectacles.

AT OXFORD.

When he left Eton Dr. Hornby said to him :—"I cannot wish you anything better than that the rest of your life may be as bright and happy as your five years at Eton." From Eton he went to University College, Oxford, where he took his M.A. in 1879. Having taken a first class in history, he was in 1880 appointed to a tutorship or lectureship in History in Keble College under his relative, the present Bishop of Southwark. He did not hold it long, for the need arose for him to aid his father in making history. His relations with his father had always been

extremely intimate. In Morley's "Life of Gladstone" we find frequent extracts from Mr. Gladstone's Diary, mentioning how he and his son Herbert had gone tree-felling together, how they gravelled a path in Hawarden Park together, and in short shared those rural pursuits which were so dear to the G.O.M. down to the end of his days.

CANDIDATE FOR MIDDLESEX.

In 1880, the great year when Mr. Gladstone closed with Lord Beaconsfield in final grapple, and threw his ancient antagonist in the Midlothian campaign, the name of Gladstone was one to conjure with. It was necessary to put up a Liberal to contest the Middlesex Division, then a Tory stronghold, and the party being at a loss for a candidate, the name of young Herbert Gladstone was suggested. He was a stripling of twenty-six, but, as the local managers said, "the name of Gladstone will compensate for his youth." The late Mr. Carvell Williams, who was one of the Middlesex Liberal leaders of those days, says :—

> Herbert Gladstone was seen, questioned, approved, and consented to be our candidate ; and a capital candidate he proved. His intelligence, his sprightly manner, his courage, his readiness in tackling interruptors and questioners—and I think I may add, his good looks—made for him numerous and warm supporters and friends throughout the constituency.

M.P. FOR LEEDS.

But Apollo himself could not have carried Middlesex for the Liberals, and after a brave fight Herbert found himself at the bottom of the poll. He had not long to wait for consolation. His father had been elected for two seats—Leeds and Midlothian. When he decided to sit for Midlothian a vacancy was created at Leeds, which was promptly filled by the election of "my son Herbert." When he returned to Hawarden after his victory at Leeds the whole village turned out with band and banners to "welcome Herbert" home. Lord Acton wrote: "The picture of the young untried son bursting into sudden popularity and turning men's thoughts from the absorbing exploits of his father, adds an affecting domestic picture to Gladstone's life." We next see Herbert accompanying his father to the House of Commons at the opening of the new Parliament.

At 4.15 on May 20th Mr. Gladstone wrote in his diary :—

> I went down to the House with Herbert. There was a great and fervent crowd in Palace Yard, and much feeling in the House. It almost overpowered me as I thought : by what deep and hidden agencies I have been brought back into the midst of the vortex of political action and contention.

Mr. Gladstone goes on to note in a well-known passage—

> the remarkable manner in which Holy Scripture has been applied to me for admonition and for comfort. Looking calmly on this course of experience, I do believe that the Almighty has employed me for His purposes in a manner larger and more special than before, and has strengthened and led me on accordingly

HIS POLITICAL APPRENTICESHIP.

His father appointed him, at his own request, as one of his junior private secretaries. "It is the only office," he said to me, "that I ever asked for." Sir J. Arthur Godley—recently ennobled under some title I do not remember—was his chief, and he could not have had a better master. He was subsequently appointed Junior Lord of the Treasury, without salary, and in this capacity was with Mr. Forster at Dublin during the darkest days of the Land League—a stormy and troublous time. After serving with Mr. Forster he returned to Westminster to represent the Office of Works in the House of Commons, Lord Rosebery, the First Commissioner, being in the House of Lords.

HOW HE FLEW THE HOME RULE KITE.

When the third Gladstone Ministry was constituted in 1886 he was appointed Financial Secretary to the War Office. But before that took place Mr. Herbert Gladstone played quite unexpectedly the leading *rôle* in the opening stages of the great tragedy of Home Rule. It came about in this wise. The General Election of November, 1885, gave the Conservatives 251 seats, the Irish Nationalists 86, the Liberals 333, showing a coalition majority of four Conservatives and Home Rulers over the Liberals. The Liberals were notoriously far from being of one mind on the subject of Irish Government. Lord Salisbury, Lord Carnarvon, and Lord Randolph Churchill had all been coquetting with Home Rule. On December 10th Mr. Gladstone wrote to his son Herbert a notable letter in which he specifically set out *more suo* the reasons why the settlement of the Irish question ought to be taken in hand by the (Conservative) Government : (1) Because they are the Government ; (2) because their measure could count upon fair play from the Liberals ; and he might have added, because they can carry anything they like through the House of Lords. He added, "I produce no plan until the Government has arrived at some issue with the Irish, as I hope they will."

WHY IT WAS DONE.

With this letter in his pocket Mr. Herbert Gladstone arrived in London on December 14th. He found that the anti-Irish section of the Liberal Party, headed by Lord Hartington, and supported by the Liberal whip, was full of the notion of making a concordat between themselves and Lord Salisbury on an anti-Irish basis. Mr. Gladstone, as Herbert knew, was bent upon arranging, if possible, to drive the Tories into an alliance with the Home Rulers by promising them his support. Mr. Gladstone was at Hawarden. The official machine of the Party was in the hands of the Whigs. The Radicals were furious, and there was a great deal of angry talk. Mr. Chamberlain and his *fidus Achates* were showing signs of rallying to the side of Lord Hartington. Mr. Dawson Rogers, of

the National Press Agency, told Herbert Gladstone that the Party was all at sea, and that Mr. Gladstone, absent at Hawarden, was being left out of the bargaining that was going on. Herbert, with Mr. Gladstone's letter in his pocket, felt justified in saying that his father thought the Irish question ought to be taken in hand, and taken in hand at once, with a view to a settlement which would win the support of the Home Rulers. Mr. Massingham and Mr. Austin were then called into council, and Mr. Herbert talked over the whole matter with them.

HOW IT WAS DONE.

The net result of these *pourparlers* was that the National Press Agency launched the announcement that Mr. Gladstone was about to set to work at once in earnest on Home Rule. This was not Mr. Herbert's doing, but it was the direct result of Mr. Herbert's conversations with Mr. Dawson Rogers, Mr. Massingham, and Mr. Austin. Mr. Herbert was not responsible for the exact terms in which the announcement was made, and the statement was promptly repudiated by his father as being "not an accurate representation of his views, but a speculation upon them, published without his knowledge or authority." Lord Morley, in his biography of Mr. Gladstone, says that the publication was neither to his advantage nor in conformity with his view of the crisis. "Neither scheme nor intention had yet crystallised in his mind. Never was there a moment when every consideration of political prudence more imperatively counselled silence."

ITS JUSTIFICATION.

That depends upon what would have followed if, as the result of that policy of silence, the Whig-Chamberlain intrigue had been successfully carried through, and Mr. Gladstone, adroitly elbowed out of leadership of the Party, had been left to lead a fragment of the Radicals in alliance with the Nationalists. Mr. Herbert Gladstone had a pretty bad time for his "indiscretion," but, despite Lord Morley's condemnation, it is probable that his talk with the National Press Agency cleared the air. It spiked the guns of the Whig intriguers, and although it threw Lord Hartington into opposition, no power on earth, no policy of silence and reserve, could have done other than postponed for a very short time the inevitable secession. If Mr. Herbert Gladstone had been then and there appointed Liberal Whip he might have averted the secession of Mr. Chamberlain—for that was by no means inevitable. The First Lordship of the Admiralty, and a judicious modification of the Home Rule Bill, might have saved the Ministry in its first Session and have secured at least a fighting chance for success in 1887. But Lord Morley would not listen to any compromise on the vital point of the exclusion of the Irish Members from Westminster, Mr. Chamberlain seceded, and the Home Rule cause was ruined for a quarter of a century.

THE M.P. FOR LEEDS

It is no use crying over spilt milk. The Home Rule Bill of 1886 had its throat cut with incontinent celerity by the Liberal Unionists. Mr. Gladstone went out with his father into the cold shade of Opposition. Since his first election in the heyday of the Midlothian triumph Leeds had been split up into single member constituencies. He elected to sit for West Leeds, which has been faithful to him ever since, although with a varying degree of intensity. His majorities were 2,326 in 1885, 2,256 in 1886. In 1892 the Conservatives doubled their vote in his division, and his majority fell to 353. Three years later it fell to 96—slender but sufficient to keep Colonel North out of Parliament. In 1900 it rose again to 521, and in 1906 it mounted to 2,808.

IN OFFICE 1892–1895.

In Opposition from 1886 to 1892, Mr. Herbert Gladstone took his fair share, but no more than his fair share, as a Home Rule Liberal M.P. in the task of converting the country to the cause which his father advocated with such consuming passion and constraining enthusiasm. In the brief Administration of 1886 he had been Financial Secretary of the War Office. When in 1892 the Liberals returned to office, and attempted in the teeth of a hostile majority of English members to carry the Home Rule Bill with the aid of the Irish contingent, he was appointed Under Secretary at the Home Office. In this capacity he served under Mr. Asquith, and learned the routine of the office over which he has presided for the last four years. Mr. Asquith was a zealous administrator, and he found in Mr. Herbert Gladstone an Under Secretary who entered enthusiastically into his schemes of social and industrial reform.

When the Home Rule Bill was thrown out by the House of Lords the ties which bound his father to office wore very thin. Nor was it long before his retirement opened the way to Lord Rosebery's Premiership. One of the first acts of the new Minister was to promote Mr. Herbert Gladstone from the Under-Secretaryship of the Home Office to the feather-bed of the British Administration—the First Commissionership of the Board of Works. Here for a couple of years he enjoyed the luxury of looking after the parks and palaces of the nation, and then he followed his colleagues into Opposition when the General Election of 1895 placed Lord Salisbury in office and Mr. Chamberlain in power.

LIBERAL WHIP.

It was not until Mr. Chamberlain involved the country at Lord Milner's bidding in the disastrous South African war that Mr. Herbert Gladstone first had an opportunity of displaying conspicuously those qualities of tact and discretion which are among the most essential qualifications of a successful Colonial Governor. He took over the onerous duties of Liberal Whip from the hands of Mr. Tom

Ellis, and by universal consent no one could have discharged them better. It fell to him to keep his party together during the terrible years of the Boer war, when party allegiance was strained to breaking point, and when Lord Rosebery, with the active aid and support of certain prominent members of the present Cabinet, made a tentative move to open rebellion. Mr. Herbert Gladstone stood loyally and gallantly by the leader of the party. He was Campbell-Bannerman's man first, last, and all the time. But while he never used a provocative word, he held the reins with a resolute hand, and did not hesitate on occasion to apply the whip. When the Liberal League was founded, and only then, did he speak out with necessary emphasis.

HIS LOYALTY TO C.-B.

As he is going to South Africa, where Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's name is one to conjure with, it may not be unprofitable to recall here the admirable stand Mr. Herbert Gladstone made at Leeds, March 25th, 1902, when after acting, as he phrased it, "for the last three years as a sort of valet for the Liberal Party," he found himself confronted by a threatened disruption of the Opposition. He took it all in good part, but there was some acid in his humour. He lamented that there was such a crowd of Liberal leaders brandishing their swords at each other there was scarcely room for the humble man in the street. It would be a good thing, he said, for us Liberals so far as we can to cultivate a sense of humour. After stating his objections on general grounds to the duplication of party organisations, Mr. Herbert Gladstone said :—

I will tell you my own position. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is my leader in the House of Commons. He has been twice elected to the position by a unanimous vote of all the Liberal members in the House of Commons. He has done the work, he has faced the music ; he has done so persistently, consistently, with great ability and, let me add, with great kindness and good-humour. He has been abused by political opponents as perhaps hardly any man who has gone before has been abused. I do not mind the abuse of opponents ; it is all in the day's march. But Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman has been abused on the platform and in the press by those who style themselves friends of the Liberal Party. I am not going to say anything about that except that I think such abuse is outrageous. I won't say anything more about it now, for the simple reason that if I did my language would be more forcible than polite. I have endeavoured to stand by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman during the last three years, and I shall continue to stand by him so long as I have your confidence.

Stand by him he did with admirable fidelity and unswerving loyalty. Probably no one better appreciates to-day than Mr. Asquith himself the services rendered by Mr. Herbert Gladstone ; when he withstood the Liberal Leaguers in the critical year of 1902.

HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE WAR.

Mr. Herbert Gladstone became Whip in 1899, the ill-fated year of the war. He was never among the Jingoes, although he was never among the pro-Boers. He deplored the policy of Lord Milner which forced the Empire into war, and he severely criticised the conduct of the war. He spoke often, and always sounded one note—he pleaded for a sound and a generous peace. He said he attached far more importance to the efforts made to conciliate the Boers by showing them they would get the fairest and most generous treatment from Great Britain, than to the most powerful reinforcements we might send to South Africa. The Boers, he insisted again and again, had fought us bravely and with humanity, and "we ought to be all the more ready to deal generously and fairly with a brave and humane enemy."

Mr. Churchill had said that he did not believe that if the two races in South Africa were to live together it was necessary to conquer and master the Dutch. That was a remarkable utterance for an active supporter of the Government, and an utterance with which he entirely agreed. Whether we liked it or not, we had got to live with the Dutch, and unless we were prepared to maintain a standing army in South Africa, which would drain this country of its life-blood, we must arrive at such a fair and lasting settlement as would be a basis of friendship with the Dutch.—(Oct. 9th, 1901.)

On another occasion, in the same year, he said :—

I do not believe at this very moment that, if we could all get together free from party ideas and party etiquette and so forth, we should be as a nation, as individuals composing the nation, very far apart in our views on the South African question, because we are all beginning to realise—what a great many did not realise when this war was begun—that the central fact in the whole matter is that the Dutch race in South Africa are a strong and abiding people, that we have got to live with them as fellow-subjects, and that if we cannot live with them as fellow-subjects in harmony it will be a bad and calamitous day for the British Empire.—(Jan. 4th, 1901.)

These passages, spoken when the country was in the throes of war, suffice to prove that Mr. Herbert Gladstone is no mere fair weather friend of the Boers. He was the *fidus Achates* of their friend C.-B., and they may depend upon it that as Governor he will prove faithful to the principles to which he adhered in the dark days of storm and stress.

THE ELECTION OF 1900,—

One of the most difficult tasks that ever fell to Mr. Herbert Gladstone was the fighting of the General Election of 1900. It was an election snatched by a trick and won by a lie. It found the Liberal Party hopelessly demoralised owing to the fact that its official chiefs had not the nerve requisite to take the pro-Boer line resolutely at first. Had they done so they would have swept the Government out of office ; but the country, embarrassed by the defection of its natural leaders, found itself committed to a war which the Liberals declared to be unjust, but which they were willing to carry on. Under those circumstances it speaks volumes for the detestation roused by the war that even such a half-hearted opposition as that offered by the Liberals sufficed to secure them almost as many votes as they had obtained in the year 1895. Mr. Herbert Gladstone, as the Chief of the Staff of the Opposition, found himself in sore straits. Not only was there

dissent in the Liberal camp, but the sinews of war were practically non-existent. He had to fight a General Election sprung upon a country unawares, without candidates, without cash, and without any logical defensible programme. In the circumstances it is amazing that he achieved the success which is actually scored to his credit.

—AND THAT OF 1906.

In the new House of Commons he set himself to work to build up the Party funds and improve the Party organisation, and as a result when the next General Election came he was in clover. He had candidates and to spare in every direction, and they practically had money to burn.

Before the General Election he rendered yeoman's service to his chief in the delicate and difficult negotiations that accompany Cabinet-making. So well, indeed, did he do his work as Whip, both in dealing with personalities and masses of the people, that one observer at least dreamed of him as a possible leader of the whole Party. The argument ran that a man with his sincere conviction, his moral courage, and the power of putting the position plainly and picturesquely, who could also command the influence of a great name, might live to find his reward in a national reputation second only to that of his father.

HOME SECRETARY AS LEGISLATOR.

When the new Ministry was formed in December, 1905, Mr. Gladstone became Home Secretary. It would be out of place here to attempt to even summarise the evidence of the beneficent activity of the Home Office under Mr. Herbert Gladstone's direction. Suffice it to say that, despite the difficulties resulting from the congestion of public business, which is so much aggravated by the action of the House of Lords, Mr. Gladstone, as Home Secretary, succeeded in passing twenty-two Acts of Parliament in his four years of office, some of which deserve more than a mere passing mention. His Workmen's Compensation Act extended the principle of compensation for accidents to many more persons than were provided for by the original Act of 1897. It is owing to this measure that clerks, shop-assistants, seamen and domestic servants are brought under the direction of the law.

THE EIGHT HOURS BILL.

Another industrial measure of great importance was the Eight Hours Bill for coal mines. This was passed in 1908, and was one of the few Bills promoted by the Home Office during this Parliament with which the House of Lords interfered. The Bill as it left the Commons provided that the legal limit of hours to be spent below ground should be eight hours *plus* the time of winding the shifts up or down the mines. This arrangement was to last for five years, after which the eight hours day was to be reckoned from bank to bank. The House of Lords altered *or* to *and*, which had the effect of adding a quarter of an hour to the daily work of a miner, and they struck out the five years' term, so that there is no security now for an eight hours day from bank to bank.

THE CHILDREN'S CHARTER.

Perhaps the most important measure was the passing of the Children's Charter in 1908. This measure is so multifarious in its provisions, so wide-reaching in its development, that it deserves to be regarded as one of the most important measures of legislation of the late Parliament. The welfare of the child lies at the foundation of all progress, and Mr. Gladstone's Act of 1908 lays broad and deep the foundations for the national security and well-being of the State. It also carries into effect a reform advocated by Benjamin Waugh many years ago in his "The Gaol Cradle, Who Rocks It?" by the establishment of Juvenile Courts, and by forbidding altogether the imprisonment of children under fourteen.

Another important branch of the Home Office legislation is that which deals with the Probation of Offenders. The Act of 1907 permits the Court in suitable cases to release offenders on probation without sentencing them to fine or imprisonment, and provides for the appointment of officers to supervise and befriend such persons while on probation.

HIS PRISON REFORMS.

The Prevention of Crimes Act of 1908 is another measure which introduced what Mr. Herbert Gladstone is disposed to regard as one of the most beneficial reforms in the present Administration. This is known as the adoption of the Borstal system. This measure was intended to deal with hooligans between sixteen and twenty-one. It gives the Court power to sentence them for any period up to and including three years' special reformatory treatment as introduced at Borstal Prison. By this means, while they are under control, they are not absolutely in prison. They are let out on licence to work. The system is working extremely well, and its extension and its establishment upon a legislative basis are all achievements of which Mr. Herbert Gladstone feels justifiably proud.

THE FACTORY ACTS.

A great deal of the industrial legislation in which the Home Office has been beneficially engaged belongs to the Department of the Local Government Board and the Board of Trade, but it has done quite enough for its own credit without poaching upon the preserves of other Departments.

Mr. Gladstone has always taken a keen personal interest in the extension of the Factory Acts, and one of the achievements during the last Parliament has been the extension of Factory and Workshop Acts to laundries. The Inspectorate has been increased during his *régime* from 154 to 200 persons, the addition to the staff including twenty-three Inspectors, eight Lady Inspectors, and fifteen Inspectors' Assistants.

AS INVESTIGATOR

One great part of the work of the Home Office is that of holding inquiries into all manner of subjects, with a view to legislation. In the last four years three Royal Commissions were appointed by the Home Office. One deals with the subject of those employed in mines and quarries, and has drawn up a most valuable report, not yet published. Another Royal Commission, that on vivisection, has not yet prepared its report. The Commission to inquire into the conduct of the Metropolitan Police dealing with cases of drunkenness and solicitation in the streets, reported, as was to be expected, in favour of the way in which the duties of the constabulary are performed.

Ten Select Committees and twelve Departmental Committees have been appointed, and have reported upon as many different subjects. The one which attracted the most attention was the Joint Committee of both Houses, which inquired into the present system of censorship of stage plays. In addition to these Committees which have reported, nine Departmental Committees have been appointed to inquire into as many other subjects which have not yet been reported.

In the Government's Record, published by the Liberal Publication Department, the bare outline of the work done by the Home Office in the last Parliament fills fifteen pages, and can be purchased for 1s. We advise our readers who wish for authentic information to obtain it for themselves.

AS ADMINISTRATOR.

In his administration of the Home Office Mr. Herbert Gladstone has been more fortunate than most of his predecessors. The Home Office usually gets into trouble by the exercise, or its refusal to exercise, the prerogative of mercy. Mr. Gladstone has only had one difficult problem of this kind to solve. He commuted the death sentence of the murderer of Mr. Whiteley. There was a little outcry at the time from those who wished that the man should swing; but Mr. Herbert Gladstone stood firm, and his action has been generally approved. He also came off triumphant in the Angely case, which at one time seemed as if it were likely to be as damaging as the Cass case was to Mr. Matthews. But the police knew what they were about, and the only result of that sensation was that Scotland Yard was whitewashed with vigour.

THE HOME SECRETARY AND THE SUFFRAGETTES.

The only serious trouble which has befallen Mr. Herbert Gladstone has arisen from the adoption of militant tactics by the Suffragettes. To them Mr. Herbert Gladstone has become a *bête noire*. Mr. W. E. Forster, one of the most humane of men, became "the base, brutal, and bloody old Buckshot" in Nationalist oratory of 1882, and Mr. Herbert Gladstone appears at present to be a kind of combination of Nero and Judge Jeffreys to our militant sisterhood. The fact is that they have much reason to be grateful to him. If he had exercised the Royal prerogative of mercy and remitted every sentence upon a woman the moment it was clear she had acted from political motives—and that seems to have been the only thing he could have done, excepting that which he did—he would have hindered instead of helping their cause. The success of Suffragettism lies in the opportunity it has afforded our earnest and enthusiastic women to prove that they have the zeal and enthusiasm necessary to earn the crown of martyrdom. If they had never been sent to gaol the prison halo would never have been theirs.

THEIR CLAIM TO "FIRST CLASS" TREATMENT.

But, it is contended by his assailants, he might and he ought to have treated the Suffragettes as first-class misdemeanants. I certainly would have been glad if he had done so whenever it was clear that the women were acting in the cause of what they believed to be the public interest. To which Mr. Herbert Gladstone replies that when he made the first Suffragettes first-class misdemeanants they protested against being accorded such favoured treatment and demanded to be allowed to share the plank-bed and the skilly and the oakum of the ordinary convict. Further, he declares that the presence of large numbers of first-class misdemeanants in Holloway would entirely disorganise the whole administration of the prison. He could hardly improvise a new place of detention as a kind of Royal Sanatorium and Rest Cure in which to accommodate the Suffragettes, which would become the headquarters of their agitation. It is admittedly a difficult problem. As Home Secretary, Mr. Gladstone emphatically disclaims having any responsibility for the sentences passed by the magistrates. He has to obey the law like other subjects of the King, and the fact that he has to administer it increases rather than diminishes his obligation to obey.

HIS DILEMMA.

The militant Suffragettes, knowing this, pressed their advantage, and imposed upon Mr. Gladstone the disagreeable duty of having to treat political agitators, with whose object he sympathised, as criminal convicts of the second division. He had also, when a hunger-strike was organised, to take the responsibility of deciding whether to let the women die on his hands or feed them by compulsion of the tube. The easiest course would have been to let them starve themselves until their lives were in danger, and then—reckoning such self-inflicted punishment as equivalent to the remainder of their sentence—to let them go free. Mr. Herbert Gladstone did not take that course, and he has been much abused in consequence. But it is rather unreasonable; and if Mrs. Pankhurst herself had been Home Secretary it is difficult to see what course she could have taken that would not have aroused angry protest from the militants.

A HELPER OF THE CAUSE.

So long as the law exists, those who break it for the purpose of demonstrating their desire to change it cannot complain if the custodians of the law treat them as lawbreakers rather than as reformers. In the case of the Suffragettes, the greater the severity with which they were treated the more triumphant was the success of their tactics. If the Roman Emperors had done all the Christian martyrs to death in comfortable lethal chambers, instead of torturing them to death by an endless variety of horrible but picturesque and sensational methods, Europe might have been pagan to this day.

A CASE IN POINT—

"That is all very well," say the women who have passed through the mill and have had experience of the tender mercies of prison authorities, for whom Mr. Gladstone is officially responsible. "But we complain that he has not administered the law with an even hand, and in particular we complain that in the case of two women prisoners who were on remand at Walton Gaol, in Liverpool, the conduct of the officials was a gross violation of the legal and human rights of every unconvicted prisoner." And if the following statement be correct, Mr. Herbert Gladstone will have an excellent opportunity of vindicating his reputation as an impartial administrator by meting out exemplary punishment to all the officials concerned :—

On December 20th, Miss Selina Martin and Miss Leslie Hall were arrested in Liverpool, and were remanded for one week, bail being refused.

Accordingly, while still unconvicted prisoners, they were sent to Walton Gaol, Liverpool. There, contrary to regulations, intercourse with their friends was denied to them. As unconvicted prisoners they refused to submit to the prison discipline or to take the prison food. Forcible feeding was threatened, and Miss Martin therefore barricaded her cell. The officials, however, effected an entrance, fell upon her and handcuffed her, dragged her to a punishment cell, and flung her on the floor, with her hands tightly fastened together behind her back.

All that night she was kept in irons. Next day her cell was entered, she was seized, thrown down, rolled over with her face upon the floor. In this position, face downwards, her arms and legs were dragged up behind her till she was lifted from the ground. Her hair was seized by another wardress. In this way she was "frog-marched" up the steps to the doctor's room, her head bumping on the stone stairs. In the doctor's room the operation of forcible feeding was performed—causing intense suffering—and then this tortured girl, in a terrible state of physical and mental distress, was handcuffed again, flung down the steps and pushed and dragged back into her cell. Her companion, Leslie Hall, was kept in irons for two and a half consecutive days and nights.

—WITH WHICH HE SYMPATHISES

Mr. Gladstone is a friend of woman's suffrage, and he is philosophical enough to regard with a certain degree of approval the earlier stages of the militant policy. It achieved a certain remarkable measure of success. It roused the attention of the nation to the existence of the woman's franchise movement as a practical question. It gave an enormous impetus to the agitation, which until the Suffragettes arose had practically gone to sleep. But after this had been done the leaders seemed to be intoxicated by their own success and to have imagined they would sweep all before them if they were only sufficiently aggravating. When they began to talk of an appeal to force it was evident they had lost their heads. Let us hope it is only for a little while. With Mr. Gladstone, now that he is going, they may at least make their peace.

A DEFENDER OF BARMAIDS.

Mr. Gladstone also did a good thing when at the Home Office by putting his foot down upon the attempt to deprive women of the right to earn their living as barmaids. He did this, as he told the deputation of barmaids, because he knew the subject at first hand. He said :—

I think I may say that I have considerably less unfamiliarity with these conditions than you may suppose, for I have lived in this world for half a century, and I have not been a teetotaler, and I have had my full share of experience of the conditions of employment in licensed premises. At one time of my life—I am not alluding to recent years—I may say that there were very few of the queer holes of the dark corners of London that I did not explore, and I may go so far as to say that in the search for truth, as I hope it was, and legitimate experience I have been brought to a knowledge of conditions which perhaps are hidden even from those whom I have the honour to address.

Upon these researches in the under world of modern Babylon Mr. Gladstone may perhaps at some future day throw a little light.

MRS. HERBERT GLADSTONE.

In 1901 Mr. Herbert Gladstone married Miss Dorothy Paget, the granddaughter of Mr. Surtees, Tory M.P. for Durham County in former days, and daughter of Sir Richard H. Paget, formerly M.P. and chief Conservative magnate of Somerset. If Miss Dorothy Paget was Conservative by ancestry, she is a Liberal, and an advanced Liberal, by marriage. She was very popular as the squire's youngest daughter in Somersetshire. She has been very popular as the wife of the Liberal Whip and Home Secretary. She will probably be more popular still when with her husband she goes out to represent the Crown in the United States of South Africa.

For South Africans, especially those of Dutch stock, are essentially domestic, and a Governor without a wife would have been little short of a disaster to South Africa. Fortunately Mr. Herbert Gladstone is married, and very well married. His wife is sympathetic, keenly alert to all human interests, and absolutely devoted to her husband's welfare. They will start, therefore, on their new career with every prospect of a brilliant success. If a title is forced on

Photograph by [*Reginald Haines.*

Mrs. Herbert Gladstone at Home.

them, it is good to know that the good old glorious name of Gladstone will never be lost. Perhaps, after all, it may be convenient for the historian of the future to be able to distinguish between father and son by calling the Greater Gladstone plain Mister, and the other—Herbert, his son—Lord Gladstone.

A Pointer from the United States.

OUR present tariff policy, and our present corporation policy, twin wrongs feeding upon twin human rights, are fast becoming institutions, and as such are fast becoming intolerable. What political organisation will take up the cause of this new attack on human rights? Senator Dolliver, who has been connected with tariff legislation for twenty years, has given us some figures, according to which the people have been paying, in increased prices upon goods covered by the tariff, twenty-one hundred million dollars annually, of which but three hundred million, *or one dollar in seven*, have gone into the treasury of the United States; or to state it more concretely, of every seven dollars paid as the *increased price*, say, of a moderate suit of clothing, six dollars go into the treasuries, not of the Government, but of the tariff-helped private enterprises.—JUDGE GROSSCUP, in the *North American Review* for December.

Feudal England.

THE wealth of the guilds and of the City is, for the most part, expended in inconsequential charities. The great metropolis, with its millions of poor, its awful tenements, its ignorance and squalor, needs schools and hospitals and breathing places the worst way. And were the 100,000,000 dollars of trust funds devoted to some big useful purpose, a substantial decrease could be made in the misery of the City. But inertia and privilege are strong in Great Britain, and nowhere are they stronger than in the City itself. Its power radiates into Parliament and the Church, and effectively prevents any interference with its abuses. It is this veneration for the past that distinguishes England from all of the countries of Western Europe. France, Germany, even Italy, have dared to use the knife on feudalism. They destroyed the system by a surgical operation. In England alone, however, the feudal system, with its age, its caste, its classes, its economic relation of lord and vassal, remains in its essential features the framework of society.—F. C. HOWE in *Scribner's*.

HOW TO DEAL WITH THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

I.—"SACK THOSE PEERS WHO HAVE SACKED THEMSELVES."

THE first step for the Electors is to elect a decisive majority of members to the House of Commons pledged to support the Government of the King in whatever steps they, after due consideration, shall deem it necessary to take for punishing the usurpation and abating the intolerable presumption of the Peers. The first step for the Government to take is to reduce the House of Lords itself to manageable proportions, and this, fortunately, can be done with no difficulty by the prompt and resolute use of the Royal prerogative. If this step be not taken, and taken at once, we shall find that our troubles will begin after we have won the Election. If, on the other hand, Ministers advise the King to summon no Peer to the new Parliament who has habitually neglected his duties in the late Parliament we shall clear the ground for all subsequent reforms.

The problem of how to deal with the Peers is as simple as that of Columbus's egg.

When once the solution is clearly grasped by Ministers and electors everybody will marvel that anybody ever thought there was any difficulty about it.

At present everyone seems to assume that there is a House of Lords in being after Parliament is dissolved. Everyone knows that there is no House of Commons until the elections have been held, but people think the House of Lords as a corporate entity continues to exist intact. That is an entire mistake. Just as no M.P. can take his seat until the writ certifying his election has been duly made out by the returning officer, so no Peer can take his seat in the House of Lords until he has received a formal Writ of Summons addressed to him by the King. Until these Writs of Summons are issued there is no House of Lords in existence.

Hence all that is necessary to reduce the problem of the Peers to manageable proportions is to see to it that no Writs of Summons are issued to any Peers who, by their own action or inaction, have proved that they are not "capable to sit" in the House of Parliament. It is within the prerogative of the King to decide, on the "legal judgment" of the Law Officers of the Crown, who are and who are not "capable to sit."

All, therefore, that needs to be done is for the Law Officers of the Crown to give as their "legal judgment" an opinion that Peers who have habitually treated previous Writs of Summons with such contempt of the King's commands as to neglect to attend one sitting in ten in the last Parliament have *ipso facto* declared themselves not "capable to sit," and the whole problem is solved.

The whole matter is one of constitutional usage, which the Peers have taught us need not be taken into account so far as they are concerned. The disregard of precedent demanded by such an exercise of the Royal prerogative would be trivial compared with the outrage the Peers have just committed in refusing, for the first time in the history ofP arliament, to grant the supplies voted to the King by the House of Commons. You cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs, and when you are suppressing an oligarchical revolution you cannot be pedantic in stickling for the strict observance of the letter, not of the law, but of the resolutions of the House of Lords. "The letter killeth, the spirit giveth life."

As it happens, the right of the King to withhold Writs of Summons from any Peers whom he might not desire to summon to his councils was formerly exercised with considerable freedom. But since 1625, when a Committee of the House of Lords was appointed to consider the withholding of the Writs of Summons from the Earl of Bristol and some other Peers who had fallen under the displeasure of Charles I., the practice of withholding Writs has been abandoned. The Committee of 1625 declared that "no precedent had been found that any Writ of Summons had been detained from any Peer that is *capable of sitting* in the House of Parliament." They, therefore, advised the King that "it is necessary that a Writ of Summons should be issued to the Earl of Bristol and other Peers, excepting such as are made incapable to sit in Parliament by judgment of Parliament or *any other legal judgment*."

In 1871, the Bankruptcy Disqualification Act, Section 8, provides: "A Writ of Summons shall not be issued to any Peer for the time being disqualified from sitting or voting in the House of Lords."

Taking these two statements together it is clear that the withholding of a Writ of Summons is recognised by usage and by Statute as the constitutional method of eliminating from the House of Lords undesirable legislators who are not "capable of sitting." The only question is, who are those undesirable Peers who are not "capable of sitting," and what "legal judgment" is necessary to decide that point?

The answer to this is that the undesirable Peers have themselves decided this question by the simple method of neglecting to sit after being summoned to sit so urgently that if they cannot plead incapacity they must plead guilty to such a scandalous disobedience to the King's commands as to justify any Law Officers of the Crown in pronouncing a "legal judgment" declaring them incapable of sitting in the House of Parliament. This will be obvious to the man in the street if he will but take even a cursory glance at the text of the Writ of Summons, by virtue of which alone the Temporal Peer is entitled to take his seat in the House of Lords. It runs as follows:—

EDWARD, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, to

Our ——, GREETING. WHEREAS, by the advice and consent of Our Council for certain arduous and urgent affairs concerning Us, the State and defence of Our said United Kingdom and the Church, We have ordered a certain Parliament to be holden at Our City of Westminster on the —— day of —— next ensuing, and there to treat and have conference with the Prelates, Great Men, and Peers of Our Realm. We, strictly enjoining, command you, upon the Faith and allegiance by which you are bound to Us, that the weightiness of the said affairs and imminent perils considered (waiving all excuses), you be at the said day and place personally present with Us, and with the said Prelates, Great Men, and Peers, to treat and give your council upon the affairs aforesaid. And this, as you regard Us and Our honour, and the safety and defence of the said United Kingdom and Church, dispatch of the said affairs in no wise do you omit.

Witness Ourself at Westminster the —— day of ——, in the —— year of Our Reign.

T. —— A Writ of Summons to Parliament the —— of —— next.

Nothing could be more peremptory than this Royal command, "Upon the Faith and allegiance by which you are bound to Us," to attend in their place in the House of Lords. "Waiving all excuses," they are adjured "in no wise to omit," "as you regard Us and Our honour and the safety and defence of the said United Kingdom."

Such is the Royal command. What has been the response of the Peers? About one-third of the Peers never put in even a single appearance, while another third do not attend one sitting out of ten!

The charitable view is that their absence is due to the fact that they did not find themselves "capable of sitting" in the late House of Parliament. In that case they are not entitled to receive a Writ of Summons for the new House of Parliament. If a less charitable view be taken, and their absence is regarded as due to their persistent disobedience of the King's command, then their conduct is a proof that they hold the King and his honour in contempt. In that case the Law Officers of the Crown need not think twice about giving a "legal judgment" that such rebellious and contumacious contemners of the King's commands have put themselves by their own act among persons to whom no new Writ of Summons should be issued.

If this course be taken, only two hundred members of the present House of Lords will receive summonses to attend the new Parliament. Thus with the smallest possible amount of breaking of constitutional crockery, without any need for any legislation, or without putting any strain upon the Royal prerogative, we reduce the problem of the House of Lords to manageable proportions. When the King's Speech opens the new Parliament, four hundred of the present members of the House of Lords will find that as they have not received their Writ of Summons they will not be permitted to take their seats.

This procedure would attain what every intelligent Unionist Peer has declared to be a most desirable end.

II.—SUMMON "GREAT MEN" AS LORDS FOR ONE PARLIAMENT.

IF the Law Officers of the Crown advise the King that no Writ of Summons should be issued to Peers who have, nine times out of ten, disobeyed the Royal command in the late Parliament, the hereditary Peers in the next House of Lords will not exceed two hundred in number.

That this is a consummation devoutly to be desired is admitted by all the Peers who have considered the subject of the Reform of the House of Lords. Some, like Lord Rosebery, would reduce the number to one hundred and fifty. Others, like the Committee of twenty-five Unionist Peers appointed in 1908, would only reduce it to four hundred. But it is common ground that the number must be cut down. It is also common ground that the Peers to be eliminated are those who do not attend. The Committee of Twenty-five unanimously declare:—

> That it is desirable to relieve from their Parliamentary duties Peers to whom such work is irksome and ill-suited . . . That it is necessary, in the interests of the House itself, to eliminate by a process of selection Peers whom it is inexpedient for various reasons to entrust with legislative responsibilities.

Lord Dunraven proposed to reduce the number of Peers by withholding Writs of Summons from those who habitually absented themselves. Lord Pembroke concurred in the suggestion. The late Duke of Devonshire pointed to "the unwieldy size" of the House of Lords, involving the occasional attendance of a large number of Peers who take no habitual part in its proceedings, and many of whom may be unfit to do so, as "elements of weakness." Lord Newton proposed to enact that the possession of a peerage by descent shall not of itself give any right to a seat in the House. Under his scheme Writs of Summons would only be sent to Peers possessing certain specified qualifications. Lord Curzon deplores "the undue numbers and sparse attendance of the Peers," and would cut the hereditary legislators down so heavily that he would have recourse to life peerages on a large scale to fill the void. Mr. W. C. Macpherson, one of the few literary apologists for the Peers, declared "a Peer who steadily refuses to discharge the public duties of his order ought to be debarred from interference with legislation at his whim and pleasure."

It may therefore be taken as common ground, first, that the House of Lords is too unwieldy and its numbers must be cut down; and, secondly, that the people to be eliminated are the Peers who habitually refuse to discharge the public duties of their order. If these two things are admitted, what method can be devised at once so obvious, so simple, so practical, and so effective as a "legal judgment" by the Law Officers of the Crown advising His Majesty that no Writ of Summons should be issued to any Peer who has not shown by his actual presence in the House, at ten per cent. of the sittings, that he is "capable of sitting in the House of Parliament"?

I assume, therefore, that when the new Parliament

is elected, Ministers will advise the Crown that not more than two hundred hereditary Peers are "capable to sit." Only these two hundred, therefore, will receive the Royal Writ of Summons, which alone entitles a Peer to sit in the House of Lords. The first half of the problem before them will then have been solved; the second half remains to be grappled with.

In the Writ of Summons the King commands the attendance of the Peer to confer with "Lords Temporal and Spiritual and *Great Men*." The only persons who were summoned to the late House of Lords who were neither hereditary Peers nor Lords Spiritual were the five Lords of Appeal, who sit as Life Peers by statute. Five Lords of Appeal, however eminent, cannot be regarded as an adequate representation of the "Great Men" of the Empire. The second half of the task before the Ministry will be to seek out one hundred or two hundred "Great Men" to whom the King could send his Writ of Summons—not as hereditary or even as Life Peers, but as Lords in Parliament for the duration of that Parliament.

From the very beginning of Parliaments the prerogative of the Sovereign to summon whom he will to be a Lord in Parliament has never been questioned. At first he summoned notables without much distinction of rank—always, however, summoning earls and bishops. Earls at the beginning were no more hereditary than bishops. To them he added other great men whom he desired to consult. But he did not always summon the same men, titled or untitled, to more than one Parliament, nor was it ever expected in those early days that because the King sought the counsel of any man he must therefore accept as councillors the eldest son and grandson of that man. "The King created a man a Peer either for life or with hereditary succession according to any line of succession that might be laid down in the patent." By degrees the custom became general of regarding the right to sit in Parliament as a privilege to be handed down from father to son.

"It must not be forgotten," says Freeman, "that the right of the Crown to create Peers for life only had never been surrendered, never abolished, never doubted. But it had gradually gone out of use." The nominated life-Peers represented the true ancient stock of the other House, the hereditary Peers were the more modern class—"the upstart class," to quote Freeman's striking phrase. But these upstarts, like the cuckoo in the sparrow's nest, wanted the place all for themselves. Hence when in 1856 the Crown attempted to exercise its ancient and till then uncontroverted prerogative by creating an eminent lawyer a Peer for life under the title of Lord Wensleydale, the hereditary Peers protested. In the judgment of Freeman, with whom also is Stubbs, whose authority on matters of constitutional history is second to none, the action of the Crown in making Lord Wensleydale a life-Peer was in accordance with a crowd of precedents and based upon an ancient and wholesome principle. "But," says Freeman, "with matchless impudence, the hereditary Peers, in defiance of precedent, in defiance of law, in gross contempt of the lawful authority of the Crown, refused to let Lord Wensleydale take his seat in the House." It was never sanctioned or condoned either by the House of Commons or the courts of law.

The case of the Wensleydale peerage shows (1) that the Ministers of the Crown who had a majority of the House of Commons behind them were firmly convinced that in 1856 the right to create life-Peers was one of the inalienable prerogatives of the Crown; (2) that one hundred and thirty-seven Peers out of three hundred and nine, who declared their opinion on a division, including pairs and proxies, were also of opinion that the Sovereign might summon anyone to be his councillor without saddling his realm with an endless succession of that man's heirs as Lords in Parliament; (3) that the proposal to refer the decision of the point in dispute to a judicial tribunal was voted down by the Tory majority; and (4) that the final decision taken by a party majority of thirty-five was the only barrier that stood in the way of the creation of life-Peers.

The Committee of the Peers could not deny that there were precedents existing which proved that life-Peers had in ancient times sat and voted in the House of Lords. Neither did they in terms deny the Royal prerogative to create life-Peers.

That Royal prerogative must now be used. There are certain categories of notables who could *ex-officio* be called to the Upper House. There are the High Commissioners of the great self-governing Dominions and Commonwealths and Colonies oversea, who would form a valuable nucleus. To them might be joined a native representative from each of the great Presidencies of India. The late Lord Salisbury laid down the law that if a man has been in the Civil Service of the Crown either in this country or in the Colonies, and has afterwards been made a Privy Councillor, he is a fit person for a life peerage.

Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Rosebery have all deplored the absence from the Upper Chamber of representatives of many departments of national life. Great captains of industry, municipal administrators, journalists of standing, philanthropists like Charles Booth, and working men like Thomas Burt, would make admirable Senators. These, however, are matters of detail.

The essential points to insist upon are—

(1) No Writ of Summons to any hereditary Peer who in the past has shirked his legislative duties and treated the King's command with contempt;

(2) Writs of Summons to be sent to one hundred or two hundred "Great Men," who would be summoned for the duration of that Parliament only.

Current History in Caricature.

RIVAL PARTY POSTERS AND SOME ELECTION CARTOONS.

By permission of the proprietors of "Punch."]

A Close Time Coming.

HECKLED PEER: "Thank Heaven I've only taken this job on till the 8th."
[After the issue of writs the Peers are supposed to take no further part in Election contests.]

Kladderadatsch.] [Berlin.

Lords v. Commons—Same Trouble in Germany.

MEN IN THE CAR: "Hi! Get out of the way; we can't have the road blocked by you for ever."

Pasquino.] [Turin.

The Match Between Lords and Commons.

EDWARD (as sportsman): "Bravo, Lloyd George!"
" (as King): "Give it him, Lansdowne!"

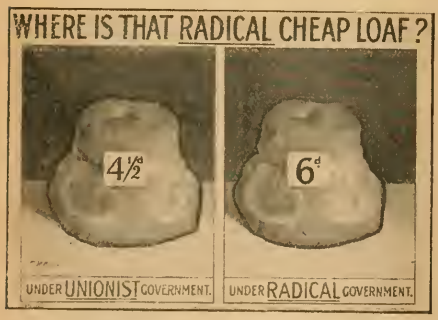
THE RESULT
OF A COURSE OF LIBERAL TREATMENT
NAVY
ARMY
JOHN BULL: Done me good? Rather! I'm not anxious for a fight, but never felt so fit for one. LOOK AT MY ARMS!

A CROWN OF COMFORT
THE OLD MAN: "I like this sunshine, my dear, it's a good lot better than the workhouse."
THE OLD LADY: "Yes—thanks to the 5- a week pension 10/- for the two of us) we old people get —through the Act passed by the LIBERALS."

SOME OF THE LIBERAL POSTERS ON THE HOARDINGS

[This is one of the most costly posters put up by the Tariff Reform Party, and it contains about as much truth as is to be found in other posters issued by them. The real fact is that in 1908 the exports of British goods exceeded those of 1905 (the last year of Tory Government) by £48,000,000. The total British trade, as represented by our imports and exports only, and excluding the home trade, amounted in 1908 to £1,049,681,000; whereas in 1905 it only amounted to £972,616,000.]

[This is a Tory poster—but one of the Tory papers has employed the leading Infidel-Socialist to work up a German Invasion Scare to divert the attention of the electors from the unpopular action of the Lords.]



"WATCHMAN! WHAT OF THE NIGHT?"

"WHY, IT'S ALL FROTH!"

[This absurd poster is effectively answered by the "Daily Chronicle" poster on next page.]

Vote for the Budget!

RUSTIC: "Much obliged to ee, Maister Jarge, for they pensions. T'other gent promised 'em for years, but we got nowt."

[This poster was issued in colours by the "Daily Chronicle," and is a sufficient answer to the Tory allegation that Liberal promises are "All Froth."]

[by permission of the proprietors of "Punch."]

Redmond's Concession.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: "And soon we'll be free from the degrading tyranny of the Saxon."

IRISH PEASANT: "An' where will we be afther gettin' our Ould-Age Pinsions from?"

MR. JOHN REDMOND: "Oh, we'll still take their money!"

NOT CRICKET!
Bowler Asquith: "How's that?"
Umpire Lansdowne: "Not out!"
"What do you think of the Tory Lord of an Umpire who never gives his own side out?

DON'T BELIEVE THE TORY TALE
ABOUT
"MAKING THE FOREIGNER PAY."
JOHN BULL: Hello, Herr Fritz, what's the meaning of this? I thought that under Protection the Foreigner had to bear all your burdens of taxation.
GERMAN TAXPAYER: Ach so! That's what they always pretend, but I KNOW differently.

Ulk.] [Berlin.

A German View of "Lords v. Commons."

"Donnerwetter, Baron; let us hope this sort of thing will never happen in Prussia!"

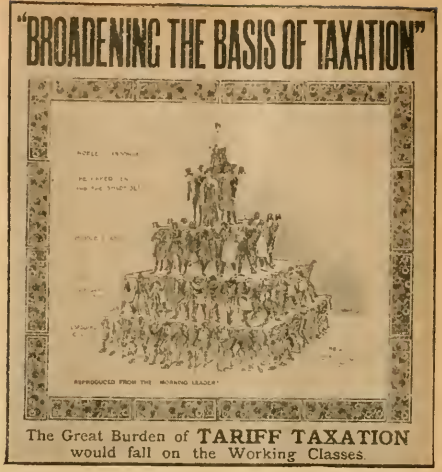
"Don't worry, Count; we members of the aristocracy have a majority in both the Upper and the Lower House!"

De Amsterdammer.]

Unwilling to Pay.

SILENUS LANSDOWNE: "I haven't a farthing left! We are not going to allow ourselves to be fleeced in this way!"

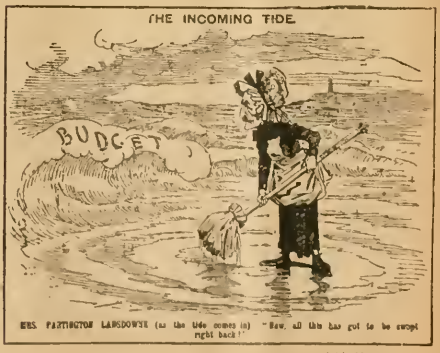
TOLLGATE-KEEPER ASQUITH: "If you persist in refusing you will find in the long run that yonder (in the River of Ruin) is the only path left open for you!"


"BROADENING THE BASIS OF TAXATION"
REPRODUCED FROM THE MORNING LEADER
The Great Burden of TARIFF TAXATION would fall on the Working Classes.

[*Morning Leader.*

THE KICKER KICKED!
The Tory papers assert that in throwing out the Budget the Lords will have "the people behind them."
HOUSE OF LORDS
BUDGET
JOHN BULL "All right, my noble lord, I'm behind you" And I'm a bit of a "kicker" myself."

[*Reynolds' Newspaper.*



[*Reynolds' Newspaper.*

Daily Chronicle.]

Their Guardian Angel.

The Radical "Free Trade" Slaves.

Tokyo Puck.]

Manchuria's Lovers.

"Miss Manchuria has three courtiers, but it is nonsense to talk of their being friendly among themselves: they are really rivals."

[illegible]

Christmas Toys.

Edward and Wilhelm: Two famous fighters.

St. Paul Pioneer Press.]

THE WESTERN STATES: "The organ may be all right, but I don't like the organiser."

Le Rire. [Paris.

Long Live Peace!

MADAME EUROPA: "I can rest in peace at last, for Germany has overburdened herself with a sword she cannot even lift."

Kladderadatsch. [Berlin.

PRESIDENT TAFT (to the Little Central Americans): "I leave you to fight out your internal troubles among yourselves; but remember that in the long run I am the most important party."

New York Herald.]

Convincing the Consumer.

The consumer in America is not enjoying himself under the high prices of the Trusts.

New York Evening Mail.]

W. J. Bryan as Carrie Nation.

Mr. Bryan has enlisted himself in the Prohibition cause and he may make it a Democratic issue in the next national campaign.

THE GENERAL ELECTION

As Discussed in the Reviews.

ISSUES BEFORE THE ELECTORS.

(1.) Which Shall Rule: Peers or People?

Mr. E. T. Cook, writing in the *Contemporary Review* on "The Issue and the Record," quotes Mr. Balfour as saying in 1907 :—

No matter what the House of Lords may do, I should never be a party to a change which would make the House of Lords a partner on equal terms with ourselves, and which would enable it to do that which I think only one assembly can do with advantage.

Discussing as to what shall be done after the election has been won, Mr. Cook says :—

It is contemplated, as I understand, to enact in one form or another that Finance Bills shall go up for the Royal Assent without the intervention (or, at any rate, without any exercise of a veto) by the House of Lords. But suppose the Commons were to "tack," even including in a Finance Bill what Lord Morley called the other day "wild-cat proposals" of an alien nature? Who, in the new era of a written Constitution on such points, would decide what was and was not rightly germane to a Finance Bill? In the absence of statutory provision to the contrary the ultimate arbitrament would rest, I presume, with the Courts of Law. This is not a solution which will, I think, commend itself to those who respect the spirit of the British Constitution. The intrusion of an external court or authority to decide upon parliamentary affairs is foreign to it. It would seem preferable, if any external authority be deemed necessary, to entrust such questions as I have indicated to a special committee of the Privy Council; and best of all, perhaps, to refer them to the Speaker, or possibly to the Speaker and the Lord Chancellor jointly.

Mr. Sydney Brooks, writing in the *Fortnightly Review* on "Liberalism and the Future," takes a rather gloomy view as to the chances of the Liberals being able to carry out their programme. He dissents from their policy, and says :—

I cannot, indeed, away with the impression that its proper policy is, first, to abolish the Lords' veto on finance, subject to the qualification on which I have already touched; secondly, to join with the Lords themselves and with the Conservative Party in devising a scheme for the internal reform of the Upper Chamber; and, thirdly, to introduce a Bill that would submit otherwise insoluble disputes between the two Houses to the ordeal of a Referendum.

To Rout the "Nefarious Conspiracy."

Mr. Frederic Harrison in the *Positivist Review* for January, writing on the Constitutional Crisis, says :—

For years past, since 1893, Professor Beesly and I have written and spoken strongly against the anarchic dream of a temporary Convention—a Single Chamber oclhocracy. But still less can we accept a Bogus Chamber, a Counterfeit Chamber, a Trick Chamber—one which plays a mere party game, and, pretending to revise Bills in the interest of the people, really does nothing but reject Bills in the interest of itself, its friends and allies.

The removal for ever of this obstructive veto is the primary question submitted to the nation—but there are others behind it, the first of which is the safeguarding of that freedom of trade, cheap food, and fair business, on which this country has thriven for more than sixty years. This nefarious conspiracy is simply a plot concocted by needy landowners, usurious traders, greedy manufacturers, and crafty adventurers, to get laws passed by which they may contrive to raise the price of their own wares, and, by a system of backstairs and wholesale jobbery amongst nominee legislators, they may make things dear all round to the mass of the public. So that the plain English of Tariff Reform is drawing more money out of the pockets of the millions in order to put it into the pockets of the thousands.

The Abolition of the House of Lords.

In the *Nineteenth Century* Mr. Marriott quotes the text of the Act of March 19th, 1649, of the Long Parliament, by which the House of Lords was abolished. It runs as follows :—

The Commons of England assembled in Parliament, finding by too long experience that the House of Lords is useless and dangerous to the people of England to be continued, have thought fit to ordain and enact . . . . that from henceforth the House of Lords in Parliament shall be and is hereby wholly abolished and taken away; and that the Lords shall not from henceforth meet or sit in the said House called the Lords' House, or in any other house or place whatsoever as a House of Lords; nor shall sit, vote, advise, adjudge, or determine of any matter or thing whatsoever as a House of Lords in Parliament.

The Lost Opportunity of the Unionists.

Mr. Marriott, writing in the *Nineteenth Century*, bewails the lost opportunity of the Unionists in that they refused to make a drastic reform and reconstruction of the House of Lords. Mr. Marriott says :—

For this element of weakness in the Unionist position the Unionist Party is itself primarily to blame. Again and again the best friends of the Conservative Party, the wisest statesmen in the House of Lords, have urged the importance of a drastic reform of the Second Chamber. Between 1886 and 1906 the Unionist Party had a great opportunity. Enjoying an almost continuous tenure of power, supported by large majorities in the House of Commons, and undeniably supreme in the House of Lords, they might have taken earnestly in hand a constitutional reform of the first magnitude and importance.

After an examination of the Australian and South African Constitutions, Mr. Marriott says :—

The moral to be drawn from this brief and parenthetical reference to the two most recently constructed Second Chambers would appear to be threefold: (1) in both cases the right of the Second Chamber to reject a money Bill is asserted, implicitly in the one case, explicitly in the other; (2) in both cases the limits of money Bills are rigidly defined with the clear object of preventing any "usurpation" on the part of the Lower House; and (3) in the more democratic of the two Constitutions the right of the Upper House to force an appeal to the electorate is expressly conceded.

(2.) What is the Best Cure for Unemployment?

The Unionist Party has received word of command from Mr. Garvin, its master and bear leader, to preach unemployment and to suggest, if not actually assert, that Tariff Reform means work for all. The Liberals, on the other hand, maintain that however many there may be unemployed in the United Kingdom at present their number would be multiplied many times by the introduction of any measure of Protection. The first question, of course,

is as to whether Free Trade has increased or decreased unemployment. Upon this point, "R. F.," writing in the *Contemporary Review* on "Fifty Years of Social Progress," says:—

A Tory Poster
(to which they attach great importance).

It is constantly asserted nowadays by politicians of both parties that the volume of unemployment is increasing. When the facts are looked at as a whole and over a considerable period this is seen not to be the case. It is unassailable that the prosperity of the working-classes has enormously increased during the past half-century, and that unemployment is, not a permanent, but a fluctuating and a transient phenomenon.

Lord Welby, writing in the same magazine upon "The Budget and British Capital," deals carefully with Lord Revelstoke's assertion that the net result of the Budget has been to drive British capital abroad. Not so, says Lord Welby. British capital is not driven, it is attracted abroad by the fact that foreign investments pay a higher rate of interest than British investments. About one-half of the 3,000 millions of British money invested abroad is invested in Indian and Colonial stocks, and produces on an average nearly five per cent., as against an average of three per cent., or three and a half, the most it could have produced if invested in England. Tariff Reform, says Lord Welby, would shift the burden of increased taxation from those who have profited so enormously by foreign investments to the mass of the working people for whose welfare the Tariff Reformers profess so tender a regard:—

The alternative Budget contemplates indirect taxation, the large part of which will fall on articles of consumption and, consequently, on the poorer classes. That put into simple language means, I fear, the sparing to a large extent of the rich and the taxation of the poor. How will this alternative Budget be received by the people generally, by the millions of workers with £100 a year and less? They have been told on official authority that some 10,000 people enjoy an aggregate income of £120,000,000 a year, and that in ten years the income-tax assessment have risen from £760,000,000 to £980,000,000. They know that wages have increased, but in a much smaller ratio.

(3.) SHALL BRITAIN RULE THE SEAS?

The third issue is: Must Britain maintain her Naval Supremacy? Neither Mr. Lloyd George nor Mr. Winston Churchill deny in set terms that the naval supremacy of Great Britain should be maintained, but Mr. Lloyd George's reference to the futile expenditure on naval armaments, while perfectly justifiable if applied to armaments of all countries, has been twisted to imply that the expenditure regarded as necessary to maintain a two-Power standard is futile. This is unjust. When the time comes Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill will of necessity be found as resolute to maintain the necessary margin of naval supremacy as any other member of the Cabinet. In the meantime the question is not for them, but for the electors, and Mr. Garvin and Mr. Archibald Hurd unite their forces in the *Fortnightly Review* in order to impress upon the electors what the maintenance of British naval supremacy really means. Mr. Garvin devotes the whole of his *chronique* to a discussion of this question, which is a matter of life and death for the Empire. He points out that ever since the battle of Trafalgar the British standard of safety has been on the two-keels-to-one basis. The following figures are remarkable:—

BATTLESHIPS.

	British.	French.
1815	218 ...	113
1830	106 ...	53
1840	89 ...	44
1850	86 ...	45

THE NEW-OLD FORMULA.

Napoleon III., in 1861, expressly recognised the soundness of the two-keels-to-one basis. Speaking to Lord Malmesbury, he said: "You ought to have twice as many ships as I. They are your principal protection!" Mr. Garvin maintains that in Lord Chatham's time we launched two British battleships to every French one, and he argues very forcibly that the standard that was maintained against France, then the next strongest European Power, must be maintained as unflinchingly against Germany. The old formula of the two-Power standard has become antiquated and could not possibly be maintained unless the United States were excluded, for the Americans will inevitably, in the course of time, have a larger navy than our own. Hence, says Mr. Garvin:—

Since the two-Power standard might be pedantically maintained and yet naval supremacy might by that very fact be sacrificed, that formula must be swept away, and in place of it must be adopted another rule revived by Mr. W. T. Stead—the standard of two-keels-to-one as against the next strongest European Power.

The two-keels-to-one standard is only a reversion to an old and sagacious national tradition. Mr. Garvin advocates that we should take the Navy out of party politics by what he calls the neutralisation of the Admiralty on a basis of two keels-to-one standard. Since the Hague Conference of 1907 Germany has

almost doubled her Naval Estimates, increasing them from twelve millions in 1906 to twenty-two millions now. Mr. Archibald Hurd, one of the sanest and most sensible writers on naval questions, maintains that :—

If the supremacy of the Navy is not to be imperilled, the new Estimates must show a further increase of £6,000,000 upon the increase which startled the House of Commons last spring.

He points out that last year we voted thirty-five millions, which excludes nearly eleven millions that is distributed in the German Budget under other heads. Deducting these, our Naval Estimates last year amounted to twenty-four millions, whereas those of Germany this year will be twenty-two millions. It is impossible to maintain a two-Power standard, much less a two-keels-to-one standard, with a margin of only two millions a year between the expenditure of the two countries. Mr. Hurd passes in review the various heads of expenditure. He says that it is impossible to maintain the present position of the British Navy without adding six millions sterling to the estimate. We may deplore, he says, this beggar-my-neighbour competition, but it can only be avoided by finally abandoning the naval supremacy of Great Britain. Hence, he asks that the question should be put to every candidate, Would you give your vote, if elected, to a two-Power British Fleet? The cost is heavy, but it is a much smaller percentage upon the capital accumulated from the annual income of Great Britain than has been paid by our ancestors.

What Two-Keels-to-One Means.

Mr. H. W. Wilson, in a vigorous article in the *National Review* on the Nation, the Government, and Navy, says :—

There is one standard of real military value which will meet our requirements. This is the two-keels-to-one standard against the next strongest Power. But if this were maintained, we should have this year no fewer than thirty-four *Dreadnoughts* built or building, instead of the probable total of twenty-four. We should have to lay down this year not four *Dreadnoughts* but fourteen.

The measures imperatively needed are these :

1. A loan of at least £50,000,000, to be spent, two-thirds in the construction of *Dreadnoughts*, cruisers and destroyers, and one-third in the provision of reserve ammunition and additional docks and naval bases on the East coast.

2. A fixed naval programme, spread over precisely the same term of years as the German one, and providing two keels to one in every class. A part of this programme would be provided from the loan, the rest would fall on the annual estimates.

3. An addition of at least 25,000 men to the enlisted strength by annual increments of 5,000, to provide for existing deficiencies in men and to meet the need of the increased programme.

4. The immediate organisation of a Naval War Staff.

5. The armament with a few light guns of fast British merchant ships in time of peace.

If these demands are met courageously and cool-headedly, says Mr. Wilson, the German Government may abandon the game, and if it does not abandon the game war will be indefinitely postponed.

No Naval Agreement Possible.

Mr. R. E. C. Long contributes a letter from Berlin to the *Fortnightly Review*, under the title of "Naval Agreement Delusions." He ridicules the idea that any convention can be made that will arrest the present breakneck competition. Financial and party considerations may prevent Germany from embarking upon a supplementary naval law ; but the lull will be temporary, like its cause, and when domestic conditions favour an increase of the fleet the increase will be made :—

Germany has never implied that she considers the two-Power standard excessive ; she knows that a two-Power standard could in no case be established by an agreement binding herself and England alone ; and she would object equally to a one-and-a-half-Power standard, or even to an equality standard.

Supremacy at sea cannot be maintained by any such unreal pretensions, but only by the means which established it ; firstly, by a preponderance of national wealth ; should that fail, then by readiness of England to bear heavier taxes than other States ; lastly, should the margin of national security nevertheless decrease, by the obvious "preventive war," which is in every German's mind.

The whole scheme to obtain international guarantee of British supremacy is but a new Pragmatic Sanction ; a pretence and a denial of plain, political facts ; a "wiggery," as Carlyle called the life-achievement of the Kaiser Charles the Sixth, and therefore an enterprise to be ridiculed by all reasoning men.

HOW THE GENERAL ELECTION IS WORKED.

Mr. Frank Dilnot takes us in a very vivid sketch in *London* "behind the scenes at a General Election." He shows us how the ambitious twelve hundred, as he describes the candidates for the 670 seats, are actually chosen. The two Central Offices —only a stone's throw from each other at Westminster —are shown to have a great deal more to do than is generally supposed with the choice of the men from whom the House of Commons must be chosen. The rival party associations in almost every constituency are in touch with the headquarters at Westminster, which exercises a very great deal of influence—not to use a stronger word—in the selection of candidates. The Central Office arbitrates between two aspirants for the local candidature, and often by nonsuiting both finds an opening for one of its national reserve of candidates—a group made up of brilliant writers, or successful barristers, or sociologists of note, or wealthy young men. These Central nominees have generally to fight first a losing battle ; but later a seat is found for them. When the campaign begins, the "Head Centre" takes the part of commander-in-chief, and directs the strategy to be followed by the whole party :—

Among other things which have to be attended to are the cartoons for the gigantic posters which everywhere meet the eye at election times ; and there is immediate consultation with well-known artists who are engaged to draw striking and eye-compelling pictures. Bright writers are turned on to produce the snappy leaflets which have to be circulated by the million ; daily conferences are held for the purpose of finding fresh ideas for catching the eye of the public, and driving home political truths —or untruths—though, of course, neither side will ever admit that anything they issue could in any sense be regarded as untrue. It is not a serious exposition of political views which is required on these leaflets and posters so much as something that will attract immediate attention and tickle the fancy, provided always, of course, that it makes for the election of the candidate

of the party. An excellent example of this is the well-worn story of the poster issued for a certain candidate at an election: "Vote for Jones, and the flowing tide," to which the rival candidate retorted on the next day with a double number of posters on which was the exhortation: "Vote for Brown, and dam the flowing tide."

Then there is an army of ready speakers to be scattered everywhere when the contests begin; all to be primed and placed. The military metaphor has a good deal to say for itself:—

Nowadays, the influences brought to bear on an election fight are as diverse as those used on an actual field of battle. Here is a list of some of the weapons used in a modern election fight: 100 motor-cars, 200 traps and carriages, 200 meetings, 150 speakers, 1,000 canvassers, 2,000 posters, 50,000 handbills and leaflets, 500 speeches, 7,000 calls on electors.

Hints are given of the insidious way in which election expenses are found for a poor but promising candidate—which are really drawn from the party's war-chest.

WHAT LANDLORDISM HAS DONE FOR ENGLAND.

A DANIEL COME TO JUDGMENT.

THE noble German patriot, Mr. Elsbacher, whose fervent patriotism leads him to employ all his time in a propaganda of Germanism in England, appears this month in the *Fortnightly Review* with a damning impeachment of the British land system. The odd thing is that he masks his murderous attack on landlordism by paying lip-homage to the party of landlords and swearing all the time that he is working in their interest—in fact, adopting their policy.

Nevertheless, the subterfuge is so palpable that it cannot deceive even the stupidest man in the street, for his paper in the *Fortnightly Review*, entitled "Every Man his own Landlord," is from the first page to the last a powerful indictment of the English territorial system—a system which has been the glory of the English landlords and of the House of Landlords. They have fostered it by every kind of legislation, and there is nothing so distinctly Tory, so distinctly the handiwork of the House of Lords, as the system which our naturalised German critic declares to have worked the ruin of agriculture—the depopulation of our rural districts and the ruin of the physique of our people. Here is a Daniel come to judgment indeed.

Mr. Ellis Barker, to give him the name under which he writes, thus sums up the net result of what landlordism has done for Great Britain:—

We have sacrificed, together with our agriculture, the health and strength of the race, and we can re-create the health and strength of the race only by re-creating our agriculture. The decay of our agriculture and the depopulation of the countryside have led to physical deterioration not only through under-breeding, but through the elimination of the fittest, and the propagation of the unfittest.

As Mr. Elsbacher, *alias* Ellis Barker, is German in his advocacy of peasant proprietorship, so is he German in his advocacy of Protection, especially for heavy taxes upon the import of food in order to foster home agriculture. But this he masks under a plea for Tariff Reform, to which we need not pay any attention here. The primary purpose of his article is to demonstrate that the British territorial system, by which the country is held in large estates by great landlords and farmed by large farmers, is economically ruinous. I think that with the zeal natural to a propagandist he overstates his case, but the following figures are very striking. Mr. Ellis Barker says that Great Britain is a more fertile country than Germany, although it is only three-fifths its size. Germany, however, is a country of peasant proprietors, and Great Britain is a country of great landlords. The agricultural production of Germany ought at most to be fifty per cent. larger than that of Great Britain. He publishes a table by which he proves that—

for every single sack of breadcorn grown in this country, Germany grows ten sacks; that for every sack of potatoes grown in this country, Germany grows seven sacks; that for every acre under woods and forests in this country, Germany has eleven acres; that for every two cows in this country, Germany has five cows; that for every two pigs in this country, Germany has eleven pigs; that Germany's crop of tobacco is equal to three-fifths of our entire consumption, or is large enough to supply 27,000,000 British people, whilst we grow no tobacco, although our climate is eminently suitable for that crop; that Germany produces about 2,000,000 tons of sugar, which suffices for the entire German consumption and a large part of our own, whilst we produce none, although our climate is better for growing sugar beet than is that of Germany. On an acre of land on which, according to its position and character, we might produce every year a ton of wheat worth £7 10s., or two tons of sugar worth £10, or eight tons of potatoes worth £24, or a ton of timber worth £2, we produce 10s. worth of mutton and a few pounds of wool. The waste of our great resources is frightful, is criminal.

The average family comprises five people. The great difference between Germany's agricultural wealth and our agricultural

Morning Leader.]

MARQUIS (to the Tailor): "I say, have you paid your rates?"

poverty can easiest be realised by comparing the share of every family in the agricultural production of their country.

SHARE IN AGRICULTURAL WEALTH PER FAMILY OF FIVE.

In Germany.	*In United Kingdom.*
1 cow	½ a cow
2 pigs	½ a pig
¾ sheep	3 sheep
80 cwts. potatoes	17 cwts. potatoes
24 cwts. breadcorn	3 cwts. breadcorn
3 cwts. sugar	None
5 lbs. tobacco	None
3 acres under woods and forests	½ acre under woods and forests
6 fowls	No figures available
15 fruit trees	No figures available

The foregoing comparison should suffice to show that our agriculture, which used to be the foremost in Europe, has utterly decayed; that there is a vast scope for our rural industries; that the latent and neglected wealth in our soil is enormous; that if we can double and treble our production of bread, vegetables and wood, we can create healthful and constant employment for millions of Englishmen in the country, and thus relieve, or abolish, unemployment in the towns.

The *sine qua non*, however, is that we must get rid of the landed system, develop peasant proprietorship, and make every man his own landlord, using for that purpose State credit. It is interesting to find in the very camp of the enemy so zealous and vigorous an exponent of Cobden's favourite thesis that Land Reform in this direction is essential for the salvation of our race.

OVERSEA OPINION ON GENERAL ELECTION.

THE NEED OF A SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND.

THE American *World's Work* speaks of the social revolution in England, and says:—

It may be true that what England needs is not a budget but a revolution. With one million officially listed paupers, with capital going abroad and opportunities of employment dwindling at home, with physicians pointing to the evidence of physical deterioration, with the accepted necessity of hastily doubling the burden of national defence, with the necessity of finding means to meet in some way the triumphant rivalry of Germany and of a whole foreign world, sweeping on to a new era of industry and commerce—confronted with all this, the remarkable group of men who find themselves at the head of the British Government have dared to plan a social revolution. They propose to obliterate the picturesque remains of feudalism, to return the land to the people, to assert the public ownership of natural resources, and to enforce the right of every man to work. The Budget means all this—ultimately. The particular aim for the moment is, of course, the necessity of raising more revenue.

The writer considers "that the mind of England is set upon social revolution."

COLONIAL VIEWS.

The *Canadian Magazine* pronounces Mr. Lloyd George the real leader in the campaign, and regrets that he does not possess the stately soberness of Gladstone and Bright. "His Celtic fire and enthusiastic recklessness do not appear to appeal strongly to the British public. What seems probable is that the balance of power will be thrown into the hands of the Irish and Labour parties." Such a situation would not long be tolerable. The writer expects the natural conservatism of the predominant partner to assert itself as in 1886 and 1895. "Unionists would again secure a long lease of power, and the lea would be safe for another quarter of a century."

In the *National Review* the Canadian chronicler tries to explain away the general attitude of the Canadian public by reference to the American mediation of most of their news and to the tyranny of the word "Liberal." The opinion of business men is given, and the bias of the writer is seen in his reference to the "financial heresies evolved from the dim Celtic consciousness of a petty attorney who would not be charged with the running of a pea-nut stall if he lived on the North American continent and tried to earn a living in business."

The Australian chronicler similarly declares that the Budget is not an Imperial affair, but that no thinking Australian desires that his destiny should be absolutely under the sole control of a single Chamber with a chance majority got together on a question that concerns the United Kingdom alone. Nevertheless, the writer admits that the average Australian is inclined to sympathise with the Budget in its land and liquor clauses.

THERSITES FURIOSO.

THE MANNERS OF MR. MAXSE.

As a master of art of the use of Billingsgate, Mr. Maxse, the editor of the *National Review*, is unsurpassed. This literary champion of the nobles and gentlemen of England could give points to a bargee and beat him with ease. In the January number of his Review he beats his own record—no easy achievement. "We are clearly in," he declares, "for an Inferno of falsehood and misrepresentation." He certainly does his best to plunge us into such Inferno by taking the first plunge himself. Here, for instance, is his description of the present Government:—

For the moment, but only for the moment, we are in the clutches of a needy, greedy gang of political adventurers, mostly lawyers, whose domination has invariably spelt disaster to any country at their mercy, as we see from the misfortunes of Greece and Portugal. They have scarcely a spark of patriotism among them, and are cynically indifferent to the future of these islands, while the word "Empire" never pollutes their lips.

There were once some Ministers who claimed the respect of decent folks, but now there are none. This is because of their—

abject surrender to a couple of blatant Demagogues, who live only to injure public interests and to advance their own. One is a hysterical Welsh attorney, with a positively insane hatred of England—which finds frequent expression in his Welsh speeches and sermons—totally unfit to hold any serious office, whose Chancellorship of the Exchequer has probably cost this unfortunate nation some £200,000,000.

Their advisers and intimates are aliens who "are generally Germans, and expend themselves in bamboozling British simpletons as to German policy, and in mimmising German sea-power."

There is "treason in high places." The traitors had hatched a very pretty plot by which—

after reconstituting the Government the United Kingdom would

be disrupted and the Empire dismembered, the Navy reduced, the Army practically disbanded, and, generally, the way paved for a German invasion.

As a final sample of these choice flowers of speech from Mr. Maxse's garden, take the following description of the Chancellor of the Exchequer :—

We can make some allowance for the devilish temper of this foolish and foul-mouthed Demagogue now that his Machiavelian scheme for capturing the Government and making England an appendage of Wales has hopelessly miscarried. He is evidently in a state of nervous excitement bordering on hysteria, if not insanity. He seems physically incapable of making any accurate statement.

If this can be said of Mr. Lloyd George, language fails us adequately to describe what ought to be said of Mr. Maxse.

WHAT ABOUT POOR MR. BALFOUR?

If Mr. Chamberlain is All in All.

"Pro Patria" contributes to the January *National Review* an article headed "Mr. Chamberlain ; the Crisis and the Call." It is a dithyrambic prose poem in praise of Mr. Chamberlain, who, the author declares, is the man, and the only man, of the situation :—

In this business Mr. Chamberlain's policy and patriotism itself are one. With him and with his cause Britain and hers must stand or fall. That is what it has come to. There is no escape from that assurance. He wants action, and the fact that himself he cannot act makes Mr. Chamberlain's leadership more inspiring to the Unionist Party than any open captainship of the fight ever: though it were his own. His name is the trumpet-call. His policy is the banner.

Poor Mr. Balfour is not even mentioned. Throughout the country men feel that Mr. Chamberlain's inspiration rules the fight. They work as though Mr. Chamberlain were in the midst of them. They fight as though he were looking on :—

Men whose privilege it is from time to time to speak with Mr. Chamberlain still feel like those who came out of Chatham's room, twice as efficient as when they went into it. He read the purpose of the Budget in a flash. Some of us will always remember the little luncheon party on Empire Day, when he discussed the Budget with his old grim humour and his old readiness of phrase. He summed up a somewhat long and complicated discussion thus : "This Budget tries to knock the Lords out of the Constitution." It was also, as he went on to explain in other words, an attempt to knock Tariff Reform out of the controversy. His mind was never drawn aside for a moment. He regarded the Finance Bill as a supreme effort to shift the issue—as the crowning electioneering effort of the Artful Dodgers of Downing Street.

"Mr. Chamberlain's policy and influence have become the life and soul of the Unionist Party," says "Pro Patriâ," to which we feel tempted to add an *âme damnée* indeed. "We are living politically upon the fruit of his labour." Looking at the balance of parties in the late Parliament and in the country, would it not be more strictly correct to say that the Unionists are dying politically as the fruit of his labours?

"Chamberlain is trying to save the Empire that Chatham founded," said an American observer at the beginning of the Tariff struggle. A curious way of saving it truly, seeing that "Pro Patriâ" boasts that Mr. Chamberlain's Boer policy "called into being the German challenge to our sea power—by far the most formidable menace ever yet directed against our national life." "Shall Mr. Chamberlain indeed save the Empire that Chatham founded? Shall he save it now?"

If he is to go on saving it by calling into existence more "formidable menaces to our national life" we had rather be excused affording him the opportunity.

"BLACKWOOD" IN HYSTERICS.

The December *Blackwood* we hailed as "Saul among the prophets." It granted to the Government "the qualities of sincerity and patriotism." It was willing to reform the House of Lords so as to destroy its unfortunate Party character. It talked in accents strangely suggestive of Home Rule. But in the January issue, Saul sees David before him and relapses into homicidal dementia. We are reminded of Mr. Froude's dictum that a General Election is a time when everybody goes mad in general and editors in particular. *Blackwood* opens with an anti-German panic, which winds up with the assertion that whenever Germany is ready, the British Colonies must and will be her aim.

"Musings without Method" wax almost delirious in their abuse of Mr. Lloyd George. In frantic rage at what he describes as the lowering of politics by the rhetoric of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the writer goes on to offer such examples of gentlemanly speech as follows :—

When he faces large audiences he shows himself instantly what we have called the cad in politics. The word "cad" is not easy of definition. We all know what a cad is. We recognise him when we see him. If we are wise we avoid him. He is pert, he is vulgar, he is flippant ; when he speaks he spatters his talk with catchwords, he is too openly familiar, he discusses common things commonly. These are the qualities which we detect in Mr. Lloyd George. He possesses above all his fellows the common touch. He attacks no topic without reducing it to its lowest level. His catchwords make up in mischief for what they lack in meaning. He finds scandal far easier than argument, and blatant personalities readier to his purpose than statesmanship. To study his recent speeches is to realise how large a part the cad plays in politics.

Blackwood then pronounces the doom of modern democracy, declaring :—

The sway of the cad will be unchallenged until defeat in the field or in the Channel puts an end to the democracy which has been put upon its trial and which every day is found wanting.

Its thoroughgoing defence of the House of Lords will only admit that "there is nothing in this world so good but what it might be better." *Blackwood* will have nothing to do with any timorous apologies for the nakedly party quality of the Second Chamber. On the contrary :—

The conclusion is irresistible that there must be a dominant Conservative party in that House if it is to fulfil the Constitutional functions proper to it, even on the limited scale proposed by the Government.

Blackwood finds the secret of the crisis in the conviction that it was "now or never" with the Socialists, whose tool the Government became, in a conspiracy to "fill up the cup."

FRENCH VIEWS OF THE CRISIS.

THE Parliamentary crisis in England has called forth several articles in the French reviews. In the first December number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* we have M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu writing on what he calls the Fiscal Revolution.

A FISCAL REVOLUTION.

He begins by saying that not only is the Budget of Mr. Lloyd George a fiscal revolution, but that the recent income tax and succession duties voted by the French Chamber deserve to be qualified in the same terms. It is a strange argument that this or that tax and super-tax will only affect a small number of taxpayers. This fiscal revolution which is being brought about simultaneously in England and in France, and which is finding imitators in other countries, has only revealed itself in its brutal aspect during the last three years. One of the saddest features of the last three years, continues the writer, is the emulation between the English and the French Governments in the matter of fiscal spoliation. A year or eighteen months ago Mr. Asquith declared that M. Caillaux was the most genial Minister of Finance in the world. In exchange for this courtesy M. Caillaux never ceased to invoke for the support of his proposals the example of the British Cabinet. This emulation in the application of a Draconian fiscal system has been one of the greatest scourges of recent years, and it still survives, though M. Caillaux is no longer French Minister of Finance.

A FISCAL PARADISE.

The writer defends the fiscal *régime* of the nineteenth century as complete equality of citizens in the matter of taxation. He says it is the only method which makes effective the celebrated formula that there is no legitimate taxation but that passed by the consent of the taxpayers, and therefore he advocates real and impersonal taxation of things without intrusion into the private affairs and secrets of the citizens. Before the South African War and the naval rivalry of Germany, the British Budget, he considers, was remarkably simple, liberal, and productive. The Gladstonian financial *régime* was, in fact, a sort of fiscal paradise. He criticises Sir William Harcourt's progressive estate duties of 1894, and says that in adopting such an extravagant measure England took a great step on the way to Socialism.

THE VIRUS OF PROGRESSIVE TAXATION.

But such is the force of the virus of Progressive taxation that when it has once been imprudently introduced into legislation it cannot long remain stationary. Thus the present so-called Liberal, but in reality Radical-Socialist Government, as soon as it came into power returned to the progressive system, and the Budget of Mr. Lloyd George only confirms the observation already made as to the evolution of the virus of progressive taxation. We are reminded that it was Germany who invented social politics, and after a quarter of a century's experience he thinks we must admit that on the whole she has succeeded admirably. Now England and France, with their old age pension schemes, have tried to imitate Germany, and have done it badly. As to the new succession duties, M. Leroy-Beaulieu describes them as confiscation and Socialism which cannot be justified by any consideration. In no sense do they bear the character of taxes. The State acts as if successions to estates belonged to it, and as if it might take the entire estates if it chose. Indeed, it is already in a fair way of doing so. The whole method of concentrating taxation as much as possible on a small minority of taxpayers is iniquitous and oppressive.

The writer also disapproves of the distinction made between earned and unearned increment in the levying of the income-tax, and, as to the super-tax, he says the victims who have to pay it now will have also to bear all the future excesses of taxation as well.

ADVANCING TOWARDS THE UNKNOWN.

M. Francis Charmes, writing in the Chronique in the first December part of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, refers to the crisis in England. The writer describes Mr. Lloyd George as a man of indisputable originality. Other men presenting dangerous measures generally have recourse to certain arguments to show that their proposals are more beneficial than they seem. But Mr. Lloyd George, aided in his task by the vituperation of Mr. Winston Churchill, threatens his opponents. The attitude of Lord Cromer and of Lord Rosebery is quite unintelligible. The electoral campaign may now be said to have opened. Human prevision cannot see beyond that, and he would be a bold man who would hazard a prophecy as to the result. England is marching towards the unknown.

BATTLE BETWEEN THE NOBILITY AND THE POOR.

In the mid-December number of *La Revue* M. L. de Norvins writes on the Dukes and the Poor. Paradoxical as it may seem, the Lords, says this writer, are their own greatest enemies. Often they do not know the land which they possess; they are, in fact, lost on their immense estates, as in a desert which becomes a prison. And what an immoral spectacle to give over such vast territories to the privileged classes for the purposes of sport, when so much land is wanted for agriculture! Statistics relating to the poor are quoted, showing that the vaunted wealth of Great Britain is concentrated in a comparatively small number of families recruited from the aristocracy and rich citizens. The result of the great battle between the nobility and the poor cannot fail to have an important effect on European politics.

THE Mid-Winter Gardens of New Orleans are most charmingly described in *Scribner's*, with delightful illustrations, in a paper by George W. Cable.

Other Leading Articles in the Reviews.

"A LITTLE OF EVERYTHING AND SOMETHING WELL."

THIS is the watchword given in his Inaugural Address as President of Harvard University by Abbott Lawrence Lowell (a picture of whose inauguration is here reproduced), as reported in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for December. From the three different aspects of college training—the highest development of the individual student, the proper relation of the college to the professional school, and the relation of the students to one another—he arrives at the conclusion: "That the best type of liberal education in our complex modern world aims at producing men who know a little of everything and something well." He goes on to say:—

The wise policy for them would appear to be that of devoting a considerable portion of their time to some one subject, and taking in addition a number of general courses in wholly unrelated fields. But instruction that imparts a little knowledge of everything is more difficult to provide well than any other. To furnish it there ought to be in every considerable field a general course, designed to give to men who do not intend to pursue the subject further a comprehension of its underlying principles or methods of thought . . . Wherever possible the general course ought to be under the charge of one of the leading men in the department, and his teaching ought to be supplemented by instruction, discussion, and constant examination in smaller groups, conducted by younger men well equipped for their work. Such a policy brings the student, at the gateway of a subject, into contact with strong and ripe minds, while it saves the professor from needless drudgery. It has been pursued at Harvard for a number of years, but it can be carried out even more completely.

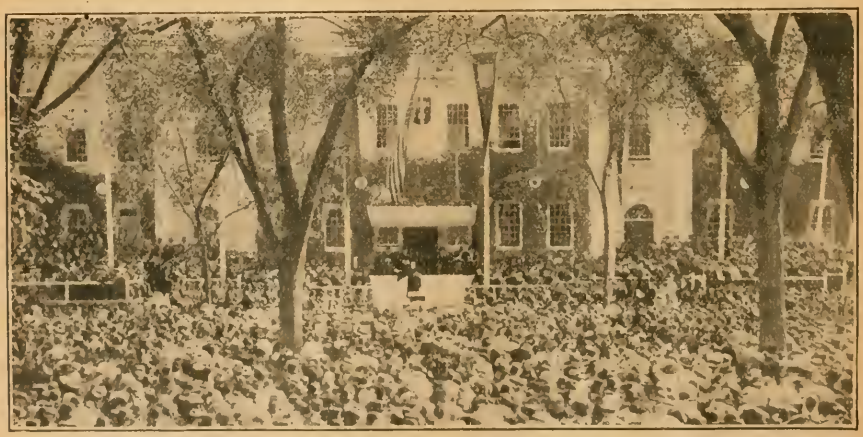
The new President admits ruefully that "in our colleges high scholarship is little admired now, either by the undergraduates or by the public." He concludes:—

If the mass of undergraduates could be brought to respect, nay, to admire, intellectual achievement on the part of their comrades, in at all the measure that they do athletic victory; if those among them of natural ability could be led to put forth their strength on the objects which the college is supposed to represent; the professional schools would find their tasks lightened, and their success enhanced. A greater solidarity in college, more earnestness of purpose and intellectual enthusiasm, would mean much for our nation. It is said that if the temperature of the ocean were raised, the water would expand until the floods covered the dry land; and if we can increase the intellectual ambition of college students, the whole face of our country will be changed.

"PRINTING WITHOUT INK."

IN *Chambers's Journal* we are told of a most revolutionary invention:—

It dispenses entirely with ink and its attendant intricate distributing mechanism. The process is entirely electrical. One electrical pole is connected with the forme of type, and the other pole with the platen which carries the paper and presses it against the type or block to be printed. The result of the impression is that a clear imprint of the characters is obtained. The process is extremely simple, and dispenses, furthermore, with a considerable amount of the essential preliminaries in printing operations described as "making ready." Normally the imprint thus obtained is a sharply defined dense black, as is usually required; but, if desired, any requisite tint can be obtained. This latter development is probably the greatest feature of the process, for it renders colour-printing extremely simple. Instead of there being a certain delay between the red, blue, and yellow printing, as is now essential to permit the successive coats of applied pigment to dry, the three impressions can be made instantly after one another.



[By courtesy of "Collier's Weekly."]

President Lowell delivering his Inaugural Address at Harvard.

GERMANY'S REAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS ENGLAND.

By a German London Correspondent.

Mr. Charles Tuchmann (Royal Prussian *Commerzienrath*) contributes to the *Nineteenth Century* a paper in which he describes with some frankness Germany's Real Attitude towards England. He says that the Germans do not contemplate an invasion of this country, neither do they covet India or our colonies. But he admits that Germany is prepared for war with England. Is she ready for war? he asks, and replies :—

Most assuredly she is, and I do not hesitate to aver that, if war were declared to-morrow, Germany's intimate knowledge of this country, and this country's ignorance of Germany, would astonish even those bellicose critics of naval preparedness who are continually crying "Danger!" But having said this much I wish to show that, although Germany is ready for war with any country, war was never further from her intentions. Why should not Germany be in a state of preparedness for any emergency? Why should she be dictated to by any country as to how she should safeguard her interests? Whatever else her critics and her enemies may allege, Germany is not an impulsive, irrational country that leaps at opportunities and "damns the consequences."

Socialism is rampant in the German army, and is increasing everywhere in Germany. Socialism is pacific. Not only his chief advisers, but the Kaiser himself realises that a war would rouse the Socialists of the country to a state bordering on revolution.

Is Germany keenly desirous of annexing new lands? Mr. Tuchmann replies: "Of course she is." How could she be otherwise with her increasing population? Mr. Tuchmann does not explain why annexation is necessary for emigration. England, he says, is in Germany's way everywhere. It would be more correct to say that England has opened up a way for German emigrants everywhere. But Mr. Tuchmann says Germany covets no lands now sheltered beneath the Union Jack. What, then, does she want? He says :—

There may be moments when she secretly covets, say Java or Sumatra, but what interest has England in either of those islands? Let me express a candid opinion: the day is not far distant when Asia Minor will fall, figuratively, to pieces. It would be a *contretemps* to the liking of Germany. Who could prevent annexation in that direction, when Germany would have only to walk through Austria in order to plant her flag on the desired spot?

War between England and Germany would involve both nations in irreparable ruin. Neutral rivals would run off with their trade. Hence Mr. Tuchmann finds all intelligent Germans with "but one desire among all of them—the wish for a better understanding—for an *entente cordiale* with England." They wish for this, says the candid Mr. Tuchmann, because the day may come—and it may not be far distant—

when Great Britain and Germany will have to fight side by side to repel the Yellow Danger. Slowly, yet with terrible sureness, that yellow cloud is drifting across the world. As a prelude to an alliance which may or may not be inevitable, these ill-considered and irresponsible croakings of alarmists would be pathetic if they were not ludicrous.

THE GENESIS OF THE AEROPLANE.

The chief points in the development of the aeroplane are given in *Cassier's* by Mr. H. H. Supplee. He treats modern aëronautics from the first ascent of the Montgolfier hot-air balloon in 1783. The real principles governing the action of the aëroplane appear to have been fully understood by Sir George Cayley, who wrote from 1808 to 1810. The earliest effort to construct an aeroplane was undoubtedly that of William Henson, in 1842, a practising engineer, with offices in London. The machine that he devised, but never constructed, except in model, was very similar in appearance to the Antoinette monoplane used by Latham, and to the Blériot machine. Other experimenters followed, until in 1866 Mr. F. H. Wenham took out in England a patent for what is now called a biplane. A colleague of Henson's developed Henson's idea by adding to it that of Wenham, but his triplane did not succeed. Meantime, Daimler's development of the power of the gasoline motor provided the driving force.

In 1889 Otto Lilienthal published his book upon bird flight as the basis of the flying art, and in 1891 began his personal training in gliding flight. He was considering the application of a motor to his apparatus when, in 1896, he was killed. Percy Pilcher, a young Englishman, began experiments with a gliding machine, both with monoplanes and biplanes; but before attaining success he too lost his life in 1899. Next year, Orville and Wilbur, the brothers Wright, of Dayton, Ohio, successfully applied a motor, and in 1905 announced their success.

The Aeroplane in War.

1909, as the great year of aviation, suggests to Mr. F. A. Talbot in the *World's Work* a rapid development in the new year. In war he considers the aeroplane as of no use in dropping bombs. "Unless the missile dropped by chance into a confined space," as down the funnel of a battleship, "the damage done would not pay for the cost of the shell." "The dirigible, owing to its ability to hover, will be employed for reconnoitring; the aëroplane, on account of its speed, for carrying despatches or information obtained by the dirigible back to headquarters."

Replying to my suggestion that the malefic indications of the stars might point to a reverse, not to the Radical Party, but to the House of Lords, Mr. Ralph Shirley in the *Occult Review* says :—

As a matter of fact, though the House of Lords is indicated in a general sense by the Sun, the lord of the Mid-heaven unquestionably denotes the Government in power, and the Sun, so far as its tenancy of the mid-heaven is concerned, would also have a similar import. Reading its import as significator of the House of Lords, the fact that it is *posited* in the mid-heaven and badly afflicted would indicate a very severe struggle, from which the Lords would emerge victorious, if victorious with difficulty.

Mr. Shirley maintains that the Government will suffer a serious reverse, and there are indications which seem to portend a change in the Government.

STORIES OF LORD KITCHENER.

MR. SMALLEY contributes interesting "Anglo-American Memories" to the *Pall Mall Gazette*. He tells how, when Commander-in-Chief in India, Lord Kitchener composed his new military units of different races and castes so that if one element mutinied the others would turn against it, and there would always be a majority for the flag. Mr. Smalley mentions that once even Lord Salisbury spoke in public of the victor of Khartoum as simply "K." :—

K. is the name by which Lord Kitchener is referred to from one end of the Empire to the other. The soldiers use it. The officers use it. The natives use it. Some of his friends use it to his face, which proves that it cannot be a liberty, since few men would care to take a liberty with Lord Kitchener.

A good story is told of the beginning of the Gordon College Fund. Mr. Smalley tells how he spent a week-end with Lord Kitchener at Mr. Ralli's beautiful place in Sussex, at the time when he was brooding over his Gordon College scheme for Khartoum :—

He wanted £100,000, and he doubted whether he should get it. In vain his friends urged him to make his appeal. "No," said Lord Kitchener, "nothing less than £100,000 will be of any use. It is a large sum. I should not like to fail, and if they gave me only part of the amount, to have to return it." He was told that his name would be enough. It was the psychological moment. Delay would only injure his chances. Lord Glenesk offered Lord Kitchener £1,000 across the dinner-table, and other sums were offered there and then, and the support of two powerful new papers was promised. Still he hesitated, and still he repeated, "I should not like to fail." At last one of the company said, "Well, Lord Kitchener, if you had doubted about your campaign as you do about this you would never have got to Khartoum." His face hardened, and his reply was characteristic of the man: "Perhaps not; but then I could depend on myself, and now I have to depend on the British public." But he did ask for the money, and got all, and more than all he wanted, with no difficulty whatever. It appeared that the British public also was to be depended on.

Mr. Smalley went on to talk to him about the extraordinary difficulties involved in governing the 1,200 islands in the Philippine group, which had but recently been annexed by the United States.

Lord Kitchener listened to all this, thought a moment, looked across the table, and said, "I should like to govern them for you."

Lord Kitchener is evidently one of the few men who are attracted by what is hard.

Mr. Smalley recalls that young Kitchener

departed without leave from the Military Academy at Woolwich to take a look for himself at what was going on near the French frontier in July or August, 1870, when the Prussians were giving their French neighbours a lesson in the art of war. That seemed to young Kitchener a lesson likely to be more profitable than those of Woolwich; so he went. It was a grave breach of discipline. I never heard how the matter was settled, but it did not keep Kitchener out of the army, for he entered the Royal Engineers the next year.

Entertaining Lord Kitchener in Japan.

After the banquet given by Mr. Ozaki, Mayor of Tokio, in honour of Lord Kitchener, the distinguished guest witnessed, with evident interest, the famous play of "The Forty-Seven Ronins," which illustrates the Bushido spirit of Old Japan. Lord Kitchener is in the centre of the group, with the Mayor and the Prince Iwakura (Minister of the Imperial Household) and other distinguished officials around him. The waitresses who served the banquet are mingling with the guests in the foreground.

Photograph by] [V. Hasegawa.

H.E. Mr. Yukio Ozaki, M.P.

The Mayor of Tokio, who entertained Lord Kitchener.

"BARBAROUS MEXICO."

THE *American Magazine* has created a sensation by denouncing civilised government in Mexico as a fiction and a failure. "As a Republic it is a mockery." From the top, where sits "a powerful half-Indian autocrat," now ageing and decaying, downwards, the tale of barbarism is told. President Diaz's assistants have formed themselves into a powerful oligarchy. The Cabinet is, as it were, a combination of all the Trusts. The writer declares on the testimony of Mexicans that there is slavery prevailing; it continues in full vigour under the cloak of the loan laws; and in the capital, traffic in human flesh has been engaged in. Petty thieves, vagrants, and paupers are deported to tropical plantations at a fixed price. The Labour contract, so-called, is a blind. A political Reign of Terror at present prevails. In one State alone there are five hundred political prisoners. Political prosecutions continue, newspapers are suppressed and editors imprisoned. Nay, editors' wives are jailed.

PRINCE ITO: A PERSONAL TRIBUTE.

By ALFRED STEAD.

To the *Fortnightly Review* for January Mr. Alfred Stead contributes an article full of glowing admiration for the late Prince Ito, with whom he had for many years been on very friendly terms. He says:—

When Prince Ito fell, assassinated by a Korean fanatic in that Chinese province where his nation is becoming omnipotent, it was not only Japan which suffered the loss of her greatest man, but the world at large which lost a statesman who will ever remain in history as one of the greatest of the great. It is not only that this young-old statesman of seventy-one had played the principal part in making Japan of yesterday, the yesterday of oblivion, into the Japan of to-day, a great Power amongst great Powers, but rather that his personal character and his individual strength made him an example to be followed and remembered in all countries and for all time. Compare him with Bismarck, if you will, but do not forget that he was greater than Bismarck, because he typified in himself the forces of Japan, the secret, hidden mysteries which have made Japan to-day and which direct every action and every thought of the Empire. Prince Ito was a crystallisation of all that is finest in Japan, in Japanese belief and Japanese tradition, and it is to this that he owes his greatness, and to this that the world knows Japan as we know it to-day. It was quite inconceivable for Ito to distinguish between himself and the State, or to know what it was to seek personal advantage, apart from the good of the nation. He stands pre-eminent among statesmen as a patriot and a good citizen, thinking nothing of personal gain or loss, so that the country benefit. Such a man could no more keep out of public life than a fish could live out of water, and his association with the administration and with the political organisation lifted them to a level far above any idea save devoted, almost passionate, patriotism. Ito's disappearance from the world's stage leaves statesmanship in all countries without its most stimulating inspiration towards disinterestedness, and leaves little to relieve the unedifying spectacle of nations' destinies being jeopardised to further the petty jealousies of Imperial chancellors or monarchs.

The article describes briefly the remarkable career of Prince Ito, which is illuminated by various extracts from notes of conversations which the author had with the statesman. Although Prince Ito is dead, he has not disappeared from Japan:—

He has so lived that he has become a good ancestor in accordance with the Japanese formula: "To do nothing that is shameful, to live so as to become a good ancestor, and in nothing to degrade in any way the good name of one's ancestors." And so Prince Ito lives on, a power for inspiration towards the finest ideals of Japanese national life. He lived a patriot, and now that he is dead he is himself a patriotic monument enshrined in the hearts of the Japanese people, and forcing them to live up to his standard of patriotism. And so Prince Ito is not dead to Japan; he is more living, more potent than ever.

A NOTABLE series of articles is begun in *McClure's Magazine* for January. It is entitled "Recollections of the Kings and Queens of Europe":—

For twenty-five years M. Xavier Paoli has been intrusted with one of the most delicate and difficult duties of the French police—that of guarding the persons of the European monarchs who come to France for pleasure and recreation. While a foreign sovereign is upon French soil, M. Paoli is responsible for his personal safety. In the course of twenty-five years Paoli has been responsible for the personal safety of fifteen emperors and kings, half-a-dozen empresses and queens, and countless number of grand dukes and princes of the blood.

The first monarch in these recollections is the Empress Elizabeth of Austria.

METCHNIKOFF, THE INTENSE.

IN a sketch in *London* of "The Man who Prolongs Life," Mr. C. J. Brandreth describes Professor Metchnikoff's style of delivery. Even at a great Scientific Congress, such was the force of his gesture and the vivacity of his whole manner that a casual visitor might have thought him some fiery Anarchist denouncing the sins of society in violent language. A tall, gaunt man, of wiry build, topped with a wild unkempt mass of hair which his long thin hands kept brushing back from his forehead, two of the brightest, keenest eyes sparkling through his large glasses, he thumped the table, waved his arms, and swayed to and fro, ever and again mopping the perspiration from his face. A clerical onlooker said: "The man is possessed by a demon." The writer proceeds :—

It is amusing to watch Metchnikoff in a discussion. At first he is insinuating and kindly in manner, but as he finds himself contradicted he warms up, becomes vivacious and intractable, for he is extremely obstinate and difficult to convince, and, turning aside the thrusts of his opponent, he "goes for him" hammer and tongs, piercing him through and through with the force of his arguments. Yet he is never discourteous; and his very fierceness is received with good-humoured smiles, for everybody knows that the sole spirit that governs his utterances is a passionate love of science.

As one of his fellow-workers at the Pasteur Institute in Paris recently put it to me: "Metchnikoff is full of whole-souled energy: and on one occasion, when several of us were arguing with him on some disputed point, and all talking at once, he impatiently cried out :—

"'Beat me! Kick me! Criticise me as much as you like, but for God's sake listen to me! Give me a hearing! Think out for yourselves what I am trying to explain to you with a view of arriving at the truth!'

"Later on," continued my informant, "we found out, by actual experience in our laboratories, that Metchnikoff was right on the point raised."

HOW THE SECRET SERVICE IS WORKED.

THE Secret Service has long been a very serious problem to conscientious minds. The ethical difficulties it presents appear without disguise in the Reminiscences which Sir Robert Anderson contributes to *Blackwood*. How far, the ingenious reader will ask, is it right to tempt traitors to betray their accomplices? How far can a man, otherwise straightforward, escape compromising his conscience when he practises deliberate deceit and bribery to unearth a traitorous plot? Sir Robert Anderson expresses his distaste for the work.

TEMPTING WITH GOLD.

In 1880 he was engaged in the Secret Service, and endeavoured to ascertain who were the leaders of the London Fenians. A counterplot gave him his chance. A letter came from a well-known Fenian offering information to the Government. That was their bait to find out who was their enemy at Whitehall. He would deal only with "the gentleman at the head of the Intelligence Department."

I met the fellow by appointment one night in a house in Westminster. He lied to me for an hour, during which I listened as though I believed all he was telling me. This, as I expected, led him to ask for money. I then pretended to lose my temper . . . As I spoke I took a handful of sovereigns out of my pocket and jingled them before him. The greedy look on his face told its own tale. He pleaded that if I would give him time he would get me all I wished to know, and he meekly asked for his "expenses." I saw that the bait had taken, so I gave him a couple of pounds.

So one bird was limed.

A POOR MAN'S EXTREMITY.

Another prominent Fenian was in charge of the instruments of their brass band :—

I learned by chance one day that, being "behind with his rent," this fellow had pawned these instruments, and that he was in a state of trepidation owing to their being wanted for an anniversary procession, and he had not money to redeem them. This gave me my chance, and within a few weeks of my being commissioned by the Secretary of State I had the two most influential London Fenians in my pay.

THE CANADIAN BOAT-SONG AND ITS AUTHORSHIP.

UNDER the title of "A Haunting Verse," Sir Henry Lucy, writing in the *Cornhill Magazine* for November, drew attention to the Canadian Boat-Song and the question of its authorship.

The haunting verse referred to is the second verse of the song, which, writes Sir Henry Lucy, was unearthed by Mr. Chamberlain in the days when he was carrying through the country the Fiery Cross known in history as the Unauthorised Programme, and it was at Inverness, where he had taken up the Crofters' Question, that he quoted, or rather misquoted, the lines. Questions arose in the Press as to the source and authorship of the poem, and even Mr. Chamberlain was appealed to for information. The reply came that it was dug out of a back number of *Blackwood's Magazine* dated September, 1829, where it illumines a "Nocte" written by Lockhart, but the authorship of this "gem of purest ray serene" is still undiscovered. The poem next appeared in *Tait's Magazine* of June, 1849. A few years ago Lord Rosebery quoted it at the festival of the Royal Scottish Corporation, and described it as "one of the most exquisite that has ever been written about the Scottish exile," whereupon a correspondence as to its authorship appeared in the *Times*.

The poem, which consists of five stanzas, has been copied out in full by Sir Henry Lucy. The second stanza, which is known all over the world, and which has been quoted by many writers and public speakers, runs :—

From the lone shieling of the misty island,
Mountains divide us and a waste of seas;
Yet still the blood is warm, the heart is Highland,
And we in dreams behold the Hebrides.

For the bright mountains they may be grand,
But they are not the mountains of our native land

A SUCCESSFUL INSTITUTIONAL CHURCH.

WORK AT WHITEFIELD'S.

To some of us Whitefield's is interesting as the burial spot of Toplady, the author of "Rock of Ages"; to others it simply perpetuates the evangelical work of George Whitefield; but what it really lives by to-day is the Central Mission of the London Congregational Union, an account of which Mr. Arthur Porritt has contributed to the January issue of the *Sunday at Home*.

THE CENTRAL MISSION.

This mission is described as the world's finest example of applied institutionalism. About a decade ago Mr. W. H. Brown, with the Congregational Union, invited the Rev. Silvester Horne to become the Superintendent of a Central Mission in connection with Whitefield's Tabernacle. The Tabernacle had just been rebuilt, and Mr. Brown undertook to complete its equipment by erecting a palatial institute. Mr. Horne gladly accepted, for he was panting for a new field to conquer, and he saw magnificent possibilities in a church which should provide a seven days a week environment for its people. Tottenham Court Road, with its business houses, teems with young people, and what better opening could be found for Mr. Horne's ardent spirit?

THE SECRET OF MR. HORNE'S SUCCESS.

The experiment was practically new to England, but the daring departure has been an enormous success, and this success is due in the first and chief place to Mr. Horne himself. He is a bookish man, a travelled man, a devotee of music, a writer as well as a student of history, and he has a magnetic personality. The secret of his triumph in public life, says Mr. Porritt, lies in the intense religiousness, the nobility of character, and the splendid unselfishness of the man. This, no doubt, is true enough, but the success of the Mission is also largely due to his wide general culture and his many interests. At the outset he determined that Whitefield's should be the cleanest, brightest, and lightest Mission in the world. He appealed for genuine artists' proofs to decorate the walls of the Institute, and he gets the best speakers, the best musicians, and the best reciters. He himself knows the best, and the second best in everything is tabooed.

THE SOCIAL SIDE OF THE MISSION.

What Mr. Horne and his coadjutors have all along striven to do was to create in the heart of London "a great modern church inclusive of all the healthy interests and activities of life," believing that the best safeguard of the purity of life in a great city is good provision for recreation, education, and good fellowship under the auspices of the Christian Church. The Clubs and the Institute of Whitefield's prove excellent counter-attractions to the public-houses. There the drapers' assistants may find billiard-tables, and can enjoy this splendid game quite immune from any temptation to drink. On Sundays especially Whitefield's is an attractive rendezvous to the shop assistants, and the afternoon teas and light suppers provided, with social intercourse, meet a real need. Mrs. Horne is Head of the Sisterhood, whose work is to visit and help the poverty-stricken in their homes. Other activities include a debating society and a newspaper. One floor of the Institute is reserved for men and another for lads, and the young people may mix in the lounges, library, etc. The Saturday night concerts are another important feature. Whitefield's, it seems, has not escaped criticism; but it has emerged triumphant, and has shown that an evangelistic church is not incompatible with an educational and recreative mission.

SUNDAY ACTIVITIES.

The services on Sundays make a long programme. Mr. Horne preaches in the morning, and many people have to be sent away for want of room. In the afternoon Mr. Horne presides over a meeting in the chapel, where every topic—political, social, economic, or philanthropic—is discussed from the standpoint of the Sermon on the Mount; but this excellent opportunity is offered to men only. In other parts of the buildings Bible-Classes and Sunday Schools are at work; and then comes the social hour over the tea-tables, followed by the evening service.

THE FOLLY OF THE ANTI-GERMAN PANIC-MONGERS.

MR. CHARLES LOWE, writing in the *Contemporary Review* for January about German spies, examines the evidence, or alleged evidence, which is held to justify the belief that the German Empire is preparing for an invasion of these Islands. He very effectively disposes of the favourite bogey of the panic-mongers—namely, that there are at the present moment anything from 0,500 to 350,000 trained German soldiers living in our midst under the protection of the British flag:—

> I found that the classified number of *all* foreigners in the kingdom was 247,758, and that of these only 49,133, or not much more than a half of Lord Roberts' 80,000 "trained soldiers," were Germans. At the very utmost I should say 10,000, or even 8,000, men, equivalent to something like a weak Aldershot Division of all arms. The bulk of the Germans in this country are men who have little or no military training at all, and the residue would make but a poor show, numerically, if "mobilised" and massed at Sheerness, Chatham, or Tooting Bec.

Mr. Lowe justly says that the —

> unscrupulous spy-sensations of our Yellow Press constitute acts of criminal levity against the peace of two hundred nations—a poisoning of the wells of public truth—and that, too, at a time when each country is only too ready to believe the worst of the other. Such conduct is none the less a public crime for it being beyond the reach of the Public Prosecutor.

THE NEW KING OF THE BELGIANS.

CHARACTER SKETCHES OF ALBERT I.

M. RENÉ H. FEIBELMAN contributes to the *National Review* an interesting and sympathetic character sketch of Belgium's new ruler, Albert I. He describes his personal appearance thus:—

A tall, slender man, with light hair, blue eyes, there is King Albert. His attitude has something gentle, timid, modest and kind, which appeals to all who see him, and he looks as simple and acts as simply when he is taking part in an important Court function or when he addresses a meeting of workmen.

He was brought up as a child with conspicuous simplicity, and he was educated by tutors who did not spare the boy:—

From his first studies he learnt thoroughly (under the supervision of his master, who is still his private secretary, M. Godefray) Latin, Greek, and four modern languages, French, English, German, and Flemish.

In order to enable him to speak Flemish with a perfect accent he was provided with a valet who could not speak a word of any other language. Even as a boy he took a great interest in mechanics:—

Had destiny not given him a throne, had he been compelled to work for a livelihood, there is no doubt that his Majesty would have become a remarkable engineer.

In 1890, at the age of fifteen, Prince Albert entered the military school of Brussels. He remained several years there, and the tuition of this establishment was invaluable; it was quickly noticeable that this extraordinarily studious young man would one day show conspicuous mastery of military science. In the meanwhile he studied diplomatic history with the late Baron Lambermont, the distinguished Belgian diplomat.

The New King and Queen of Belgium.

This photograph of the young King with his wife and children is interesting because it was taken by the King's mother.

Despite his studies the young Prince found time for sport, for travel, for lecturing, and for social cares. After his marriage in 1900 his constitutional bashfulness disappeared, and his sympathetic personality became noticeable:—

Albert I. has always turned his mind towards the problems of social progress, towards the improvement of the condition of the labourers. He has visited a great number of manufactories, in Belgium and elsewhere; he has never shrunk from the duty of "living the life" of working people. In 1897, at Seraing, near Liège, he went down in a coalpit and worked at the painful work of digging; one other day he acted as a stoker in one of the Belgian steel-foundries; he travelled as engine-driver from Ostend to Brussels, the fate of the whole train being entrusted to him.

Love of science, interest in workers, confidence in commercial expansion of his country, these are the general ideas to which Prince Albert has shown an absolute faithfulness, as long as he was a Crown Prince.

His uncle, the late King, was the King of the *bourgeoisie*, and his favourite motto was "Get rich":—

King Albert is a quite different man. He will be the first Belgian king who will go to the working class with words of encouragement and of sympathy. He feels that the force of the future neither rests with the aristocracy nor even with the middle class; it rests with the people, and it is on the people he wants his throne to rest.

As to the Congo, his dominant idea is that—

it is only in improving the moral and material condition of the natives that we will make sure of the future of the Congo. Duty and simplicity, those are the two watchwords of the new King's life. Albert I. will be a moderate, well-balanced, and industrious King. And Belgium will hail him as such as she has hailed him as a man of conscience and of firm principles. As a man he will set an admirable example of modesty and domestic rectitude. His love of privacy, his little taste for official etiquette, his *bon garçonnisme* will give him the hearts of his people.

So says M. Feibelman. Amen—so may it be!

In the *American Review of Reviews* appears this following concise character sketch of King Albert I.:—

Under the Salic law of succession the throne of Belgium passes the late King Leopold's three daughters and is vested in Prince Albert, the only son of Leopold's younger brother, Count Philippe of Flanders. The new monarch is now thirty-four years of age, and one of the most popular members of the reigning house of Belgium. He is reported as being exceedingly democratic in his disposition; he has a talent for civil engineering, and has practised this hobby of his in many parts of the globe. He has been a great traveller and student of politics and economics. In 1898 he visited the United States, and studied railroading under the guidance of Mr. James J. Hill. Several years later he made an extended visit to the Congo, and upon his return to Belgium urged strongly the needs of railroad development and reform of the treatment of the natives. King Albert is a thoroughly enlightened man and a great reader. He is averse to pomp and display, is affable and free in manner, has a keen sense of duty, and is profoundly interested in social questions. His domestic life is very happy. He is a devoted husband and affectionate father. In person he is exceptionally tall, with a handsome face of the best German type. He is devoted to outdoor sports. His wife, the Princess Elizabeth of Bavaria, whom he married in 1900, is a woman of cultured and domestic tastes. She is known as one of the most learned princesses in Europe. They have three children: Prince Leopold, aged nine; Prince Charles, aged seven; and the Princess Marie José, aged four. Albert I. is the second King of Belgium.

THE REGENERATION OF MODERN SPAIN.

HOW A NATION PROFITED BY DEFEAT.

MR. F. C. PENFOLD, at one time American Consul-General in London, writes a most instructive paper in the December *North American Review* on "Spain's Industrial Awakening." According to Mr. Penfold, nothing has ever done Spain so much good as her defeat by the United States and the loss of her last remaining American possessions:—

At every point of the country the soil is being improved and abandoned cultivation resumed. A prosperous country, built upon frugality and the development of energy and of the resources of the soil, is a golden fact—a Spain of enviable commercial credit is already reared upon the ruins of the nation that for centuries existed upon shadowy romance and worship of departed grandeur. And the new Spain, whose motive-force springs not from the windmills of dreamy fiction, but from honest toil, is materially better off this year than it has been in generations.

Since the war Spanish bonds have practically doubled in value, and exchange with foreign money-markets has improved in corresponding ratio; Spanish seaports on the Atlantic and Mediterranean teem with shipping; the soil is yielding a satisfactory bounty; rich deposits of minerals are being uncovered, and, all in all, the contracted Spain is more prosperous than was the nation that had to meet yearly deficits in Cuba and in the Philippines. Indeed, the nature of the people seems changing from a *dolce far niente* indolence to enterprise and thrift.

Cut off from the Philippines and Cuba, Spain has developed new markets in South America. With the sales of her wines and other products of the soil there has arisen a general trade that is placing Spain upon a footing of enviable solvency.

Spain has made of every State in Latin America a customer for her products, and the aggregate benefit is very important. Mexico has become a large consumer of Spanish goods, chiefly crude and manufactured iron, wine, and cotton textiles.

A decade ago the birth-rate was 34·38 per thousand inhabitants, and the death-rate 28·68. The figures have improved now to 33·28 and 25·13 respectively.

Spanish Four Per Cents were 63 before the war, 42½ during the war, but at the present time they are quoted at about 85. Just prior to the troubles in Barcelona and Morocco these bonds had a free market at 90.

A TIME TABLE OF DIGESTION.

IN *Chambers's Journal* appears a paper on the Philosophy of Digestion, in which reference is made to the tables compiled of comparative digestibility. Most digestible are boiled tripe, grilled venison, and baked apple. All can be digested within the hour. Fish, excluding eels and shell-fish, when boiled is digestible in an hour and a half; when fried, in three hours. Bread takes three and a half hours. Turkeys and geese take only two and a half hours; chicken, four hours. Beef and mutton take three to three and a half hours. Roast veal remains unabsorbed for five hours; fat pork, for five and a quarter. Game takes four and a quarter hours. At the bottom of the list beyond the six hours' time limit are old salted beef, jam, crabs, and alcohol. Among vegetables, asparagus and boiled celery are the most digestible, taking only one and a half hours. Peas and beans take two and a half hours; onions and uncooked salad, three hours or so.

WHAT INTERESTS WOMEN.

THE *Woman at Home* claims to be the ideal magazine for women. Its January contents suggest what, in the editor's judgment, most interests women to-day. The fiction and the papers on dress and portraits of those who are seen "in the glass of fashion" may go without saying. The other features are a sketch of the Golf School at Regent's Park, a letter or two in defence of hockey as an excellent game for girls, and two papers on art. One is an interview with Mr. Ellis Roberts, the distinguished portrait painter, on the suddenness with which he leapt to fame; the other is a vivid sketch of the poster-painting school of Mr. John Hassall, where a crowd of young men and of young women are learning to design the mural advertisements of the future. The fees range from twenty-five guineas a year. The school acts as commission-agent for securing patrons.

A very different diet is offered in the *Englishwoman*, which now reaches its twelfth number. Miss Clementina Black reviews with satisfaction the year's progress in the Women's Suffrage movement. She holds that all purely suffrage organisations have gained ground, notably among working people and well-educated young women, but have lost ground in the House of Commons, and probably among men of mature years of the middle-class. Miss Lavinia Dock calls attention to the changed status of nursing in France, due to the laicisation of French hospitals. Dr. Anna Hamilton, a Frenchwoman, found the needed new model in the English hospital and the English sisters, and instituted what is now known as the *Système Florence Nightingale*. The French Government is now thoroughly committed to the principle of educating its nurses, and Miss Dock believes that the same women who joined the religious nursing orders will now join the work of the secular sisters. Joyful record is made of the appointment of Miss Ina G. Richmond as manager of the great Magherafelt gasworks at Dublin, and the appointment of uniformed policewomen in New York, as also the first appearance in a Russian court of a woman barrister, Mlle. Fleischitz. The needs of the factory mother, the claims of the inebriate and feeble-minded, the bearing of alcohol on Eugenics, and the duty of the nation to its children, are dwelt upon. Gustave le Bon treats of the Birth and Evanescence of Matter, stating that the world is formed first of diffuse, etheric atoms, which from various causes—notably, rotation—amass energy, one of the forms of which is matter. Matter disappears in the dispersion of this energy.

Blackwood in "Cricket Retrospect and Prospect" deals severely with the Selection Committee for that choice of middle-aged cricketers which gave the victory to the Australians. The writer strongly opposes the idea of importing foreign mercenaries, and urges that we must develop our own home bred young cricketers.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF FERRER.

By Perceval Gibbon.

McClure's Magazine for January publishes an article on the Ferrer trial, by Perceval Gibbon, who was present at that prearranged tragical farce. Mr. Gibbon was evidently not much impressed by Ferrer as a man. Francisco Ferrer was the son of a cooper at Alella, a small town about ten miles from Barcelona, where he was born in 1863. Thus he belonged, as by inheritance and birthright, to the paramount cause in Catalonia. He had little education, save such as a poor boy was able to gain in the Church schools.

FERRER'S EDUCATION.

Ferrer's anarchism is explained as follows by Mr. Gibbon :—

In Spain the ideas of Marx, Bakúnin, the Russian, and John Stuart Mill gained currency and acceptance, and these and others were accessible to Ferrer. He grew up, in the faith they inculcated, a Republican, an Anti-clerical, and a philosophical Anarchist—that is to say, accepting the principles of Anarchism as an academical proposition, but withholding himself from their active conclusions. The Universities of Europe are full of Anarchists in the same sense; it is the common resource and refuge of political idealists. But he made no history. He had sufficient dislike for monarchy to leave Spain after the brief experiment of the Spanish Republic. He went to Paris, where he found companionship among others of the same way of thinking as himself, and secured employment as a teacher of Spanish.

HIS PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

He was never an imposing figure. He was a man of the lower classes, without grace of manner, geniality, or wit, and his appearance almost constituted a claim to be overlooked. At the trial the spectators saw him with astonishment. He had the manner and all the outward look of an elderly clerk or a country schoolmaster, of anything subordinate and plodding and uninspired. He was middle-aged and of the middle stature, with a round, dull face, and a short, pointed grey beard.

THE WOMAN WHO HELPED HIM.

He attracted the sympathy and secured the support of women. The record of his life has several instances of women inspired to be his followers and helpers. Of these the chief was Mademoiselle Meunier, of whom little is known, save that she was a very old woman who believed in Ferrer, and when she died she left him half a million dollars with which to forward his cause in Spain. It made him, for Spain, a very rich man; it put into his hands power such as no other leader had commanded. From that time Ferrer began to be recognised as a formidable figure in Spanish affairs.

HIS MODERN SCHOOL.

He opened his campaign by founding in Barcelona his Escuela Moderna, the only secular school in Spain. Here a child received sound teaching in conventional subjects, and was also trained along the peculiar lines of Ferrer's beliefs. He described the object of the school in these words: "To make children reflect upon the lies of religion, of government, of patriotism, of justice, of politics, and of militarism; and to prepare their minds for the social revolution." Apart from this latter purpose, the school served a great national need, and its success was immediate.

THE SECRET OF HIS INFLUENCE.

He was a product of his time and country, one of those men who are created as though by an economic demand to meet a need. He was not eloquent nor cultured; he could not move gatherings by speeches, and he wrote little. At his trial the spectators were surprised to hear him speak the formal Castilian of official procedure "like an ill-educated Frenchman." But once his interest was strongly taken, he could kindle to vivacity; he could be brisk and downright, and the living force within him would come to the light. He had, what is rare in Spain, a reserve of energy to back the faith that he professed—something akin to fanaticism. It was that, and the fact that he was rich, that made him formidable.

HIS TWO TRIALS.

Among the men whom Ferrer had appointed to assist in the conduct of the Escuela Moderna was Mateo Morales, an accomplished linguist, who was given the post of librarian. He, too, was an Anarchist, but not of the philosophical and theoretical kind to which Ferrer belonged. He was the man who threw the bomb at King Alphonso and his bride on the day of their wedding. Ferrer was arrested and tried as an accomplice. The case was absurd from beginning to end. Even a specially constituted court found itself unable to convict on such evidence, and Ferrer was acquitted. The Government and the Orders had lost the first round of the fight. But they had gained experience which served them well when Ferrer again fell into their hands. This time they improved on even a special court and no jury; they abolished witnesses and limited the discretion of the man they themselves nominated to conduct the defence.

AN ADVOCATE ON THE CASE OF FERRER:

Its Iniquities and Illegalities.

The *Grande Revue* of December 10th publishes in its pages devoted to free discussion an article by Jean-Jacques Kaspar, on the Trial of Ferrer.

The writer, himself an advocate, gives us a juridical study of the case based on the papers published by the Spanish Government. Nothing, he says, could prove more conclusively than this document the iniquities committed against Ferrer. It shows how trivial were the charges brought against him, and of what illegalities he was the victim. The events of Barcelona took place in the last week in July, and Ferrer was only arrested on August 31st, and was not condemned till October 9th. The writer explains that the so-called guarantees of legal procedure were reduced to practically nothing. The most important part was kept secret so far as the accused was concerned, and thus a defence was rendered impossible. After examining the method of Spanish military procedure, he says it would be impossible to admit that Ferrer was tried justly. He characterises the evidence of the Republican Lerrouxists as false and perfidious declarations.

Among the indignities offered to Ferrer that of confiscating his clothes and replacing them by other cheap garments which were too small, and sending him thus disguised in prison before a judge, was an unnecessary vexation. The first judge seems to have been too fair, so after being kept waiting several days another was found, and Ferrer was not allowed to complete his statement. Though the instruction was supposed to be secret, the most unfavourable portions of the case were communicated to the press so as to deceive public opinion and facilitate condemnation. Ferrer's advocate was not allowed to get up the case for the defence, and all documents sent to him were confiscated. During twenty-eight days Ferrer was without an advocate for his defence, whereas the

prosecution had a month to prepare the charges. Notwithstanding the length of the dossier (600 folios), Ferrer's advocate was at last only allowed twenty-four hours to study it for the purpose of preparing a defence. As to Ferrer's judges, they were officers who themselves had taken part in the suppression of the rising.

There is another crying illegality which the Spanish authorities cannot possibly deny. On October 10th, all the newspapers, on the authority of the Agency Havas, published an account of the interrogatory of the accused and the evidence of the witnesses before the Council of War, but on the following day the world learnt from the *Times*, which had a representative present, that no such hearing had ever taken place.

In conclusion, the writer says an effort should be made to create a powerful public opinion to help the advanced party in Spain to obtain a reform of military justice in that country. In the words of Paul Desjardins, everything possible should be done to bring about a European unification of criminal law and establish internationally the conditions of fair trial.

A second article in the same number of the *Grande Revue*, by Maurice Dubois, deals with the educational work of Ferrer; and in the first December number of the *Nouvelle Revue* Joseph Ribet, in an article on Spain, says he firmly believes that Ferrer was not an Anarchist.

THE STORY OF MONSERRAT.

FROM the wealth of detail given by the writer of an article in *España Moderna* concerning this sacred mountain, we extract the following:—

According to tradition St. Luke, or some other holy person, made an image in wood of the Virgin Mary. It must be admitted that tradition is very vague, but the image was carved and venerated at a very early period. In the eighth century (it is impossible to say the exact time) some monks established themselves on this mountain, and on the arrival of the Moors they hid the image and fled. About the end of the ninth century, from when the history of Monserrat commences, the image was accidentally discovered by shepherds. Some monks again established themselves, but soon ceded the place to the Benedictine Friars of the great Abbey of Ripoll. After many vicissitudes the Virgin of Monserrat again appeared triumphant, and at the beginning of the fifteenth century the Sanctuary, which was subsidiary to Ripoll, was made an independent abbey. Little by little the celebrity of "Nuestra Señora de Monserrat" grew, and pilgrims began to make the journey up the winding path leading to the elevated sanctuary, to present their offerings and to receive hospitality from the monks. In the sixteenth century it is said there were as many as half a million pilgrims in one year. Kings, princes, and nobles joined the procession, and on one occasion a queen (Violante), the wife of Don Juan I., ascended bare-footed. Charles V. went nine times; the great conqueror, Don Juan de Austria, also went to deposit at the feet of the Virgin the trophies of Lepanto and cover the temple with gold. The most memorable visit of all was that of the soldier Loyola, who went there to say good-bye to the glories of the earth and to pass the night in the presence of the Virgin, leaving his sword on the altar, and exchanging it for spiritual weapons; he consecrated himself a soldier of the Church and became the first General of one of the most celebrated Church Armies the world has ever seen, the Society of Jesus.

A SYMPOSIUM ON READING.

THE *Readers' Review*, published by the National Home-Reading Union and the Library Association (12, York Buildings, Adelphi), contains in the December numbers a series of articles on Reading.

THE PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE.

In his "Plain Chat" on the Fear of Knowledge Mr. Arnold Bennett writes:—

I remember having frequently noticed that the habitual reader of fiction is indeed generally dissatisfied with what he is reading, so much so that one wonders why he puts himself to the trouble of reading it. Why does he read? There can be but one answer: it is the easiest way of travelling from the first to the sixtieth minute of a leisure hour . . . I want to recommend the pursuit of knowledge to the jaded fiction-reader. I do not present the pursuit of knowledge as a duty to one's self or to the world. I approach him on the plane of pleasure, of diversion. I inform him that he is missing the real fun. I inform him that his fears about knowledge would be unworthy of a puling infant. I reply: "Boldly pursue knowledge for half an hour a day steadily for a fortnight, or—if you have the courage of a lion—for an hour a day for a month. And then see whether fear has not given place to a deadly fascination."

READING FOR PLEASURE.

Mr. R. A. Scott-James's contribution is entitled "Every Man His Own Critic." He says:—

The really important thing is that we should so develop our tastes that we can take pleasure in things which afford more than mere pleasure, which in one way or another open our sympathies, extend our interest in the world, or enlighten us on any essential thing under the sun. By studying philosophy we seek to understand the nature of all knowledge and its end; by reading poetry we seek to stimulate our perceptions and gain a clearer, instinctive insight into the common and uncommon mysteries of life; by reading fiction we attempt to put ourselves into touch with numberless phases of human nature. Literature is life on a broad scale. It is democratic. It cannot be exclusive, except in the sense that it excludes dilettantism, narrow-mindedness, and ignorance.

READING FOR PROFIT.

The following extract is from Mr. John Russell's "The School of Books":—

I know that the test of successful culture is not the sowing but the reaping, that the well-bred man is not he who has read most but he who has read to most spiritual profit, and that the great book is not the book that is great to this or that critic, or even to this or that school of critics, but the book that is great to me, because it inspires me, though my failures may have been unto seventy times seven, to endeavour to live greatly . . . Higher than all external authority is the internal authority of your own earnest self, your own conscience, your own soul. Read, think, do only what your soul approves.

EVIDENCE AT FIRST HAND.

Mr. Hilaire Belloc has a paper on the Reading of History. To read history with profit the reader, he says, must have a power of discerning what is true in the midst of much that may be false. Brute lying exists, but not so often in official history as in the pages of ephemeral journalism. Mr. Belloc suggests that readers should turn to original authorities, and he names a number of such books which are now issued in a cheap form in modern and readable English.

THE STORY OF AZEFF.

By D. SOSKICE.

THE January number of *McClure's Magazine* contains the Revolutionary's view of Azeff, the famous—or infamous—*agent provocateur* of the Russian Secret Police. According to M. Soskice, Azeff is now in Russia in a good post.

AZEFF'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

M. Soskice says:—

There was not about Azeff the slightest suggestion of the man who stakes his life for his ideals. His stout, well-nourished, well-clad figure, short neck, and broad, round face, with its very thick and sensual lips, flat nose, and carefully cropped hair, gave him the appearance of that international type of professional financier that one meets upon every Stock Exchange in Europe. I tried in vain to find in his eyes that expression of *Weltschmerz* so characteristic of the Russian idealist. They bore no expression at all. Protrudent, dark, filmy, they reflected as little of his mind as do those of a fish. And yet his narrow, low forehead and heavy jaws showed great strength of will and resolution, as well as insatiable instincts.

HIS START IN LIFE.

The boy was father to the man. M. Soskice says:—

The son of a tailor, Azeff was in the habit of inciting his schoolfellows in Rostof-on-the-Don to acts of insubordination, in order to denounce them afterwards to the teachers. When a youth of twenty, he carefully weighed the chances of various careers in Russia, and chose that for which his nature was best fitted, and which justly seemed to him the most promising in Russia—that of *agent provocateur*.

He stole a few hundred pounds from his employer, forged the necessary diplomas, and went to Germany, where he entered a polytechnic as a student of engineering and electricity. It was there that he learned to the bottom the art of bomb-making, and obtained the grade of scientific engineer. It was in Germany also that Azeff first joined a Russian Revolutionary Circle, in which he soon managed to obtain a prominent reputation. Azeff was not an orator, still less a writer.

HIS SERVICES TO THE CAUSE.

It is rather difficult to ascertain from M. Soskice's paper whether he thinks Azeff rendered most service to the Revolutionists or to the Government. He says:—

Revolutionary Azeff contributed greatly to the party's success. He perhaps beat the record in the slaying of tyrants. He was one of the leading organisers in the murders of Bogdanovich, Plehve, the Grand Duke Sergius, and many others who were killed during those seven years. And for the last five years Azeff was actually the head of the terrible "Fighting Organisation." During the last seven years of this struggle Azeff used intermittently the Social Revolutionary Party and the Secret Police as tools for the promotion of one end—his own career. From 1901 till the very end of 1908 Azeff took an active, often a leading part in every scheme of the Party.

WHY HE FELL.

Lopukhin, the Chief of the Police, admitted that Azeff was in his employ. This led to his trial and condemnation by the Revolutionary Secret Tribunal. But even—

after Azeff's disappearance his wife, a faithful Revolutionist, still continued to believe in him. So did many of his old friends. It was only after Lopukhin was tried and sentenced for revealing Azeff's connection with the police that they were convinced that their friend and leader was a Government spy, whom the Government had thus avenged.

If Azeff came out of hiding and resumed his old *rôle* of organiser of assassination it is doubtful whether the Terrorists would not hire him, even though they did not trust him.

TRAINING IN LIBRARIANSHIP.

MR. A. CECIL PIPER has an article in the December *Library World* on the Training of Librarians in Germany.

LIBRARY ECONOMY A UNIVERSITY SUBJECT.

A librarian at Leipsic, F. A. Ebert, so long ago as 1820 advocated a high standard of education for librarians. About 1861, Friedrich Ritschl organised the library of Bonn University, and used it as a training school for intending librarians; but Karl Dziatzko did more, perhaps, than any other German librarian towards the elevation of the profession. In 1886 he was appointed librarian to Göttingen University, and shortly afterwards the Government added Library Economy and Bibliography to the curriculum. A Professorship of Library Science was united to the office of librarian. All candidates are expected to have completed the ordinary university course, and they must serve two years' voluntary service, the second to be spent at Göttingen, so that advantage may be taken of the courses in library economy. They must then pass an oral examination in library administration, general literary history, and the history of writing and books; they must also have a working knowledge of English, French, and Italian, and be acquainted with the chief bibliographical aids.

SCHOOLS FOR WOMEN LIBRARIANS.

The advance of women into the field of librarianship, continues the writer, has made it necessary to establish two schools in Berlin for the training of women as librarians. The first, opened in 1900, is under the supervision of Professor Hottinger, and is open to all girls over sixteen who possess the leaving certificate from a High School. It provides two courses of instruction—one, for training librarians for the ordinary public libraries, being of six months' duration, and the other, extending over three years, for the preparation of students for chief positions in scientific libraries. At the end of the course an examination, oral and written, must be passed.

The age for admission to Herr Wolfsteig's school, founded in 1902, is nineteen, but the course is much the same as in the other school. An examination is held at the end of the course. Up to 1907 seventy-five students had passed the examination, and twenty-six of this number obtained positions in scientific libraries.

Judging by a portrait group, given in the same issue of the *Library World*, there are sixteen women and eleven men on the staff of the Bristol Public Libraries.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S FIRST HIPPO.

THE ex-President of the United States continues in *Scribner's* the story of his African wanderings. He describes his stay at Juja, in British East Africa, where the wild game came round the house. He tells of an encounter with a python. He was returning from shooting an Impalla when he saw a few yards off curled up in the long grass under a small tree the python. Not seeing it distinctly, he missed the backbone, the bullet going through the body about its middle :—

Immediately the snake lashed at me with open jaws, and then, uncoiling, came gliding rapidly in our direction. I do not think it was charging ; I think it was merely trying to escape. But Judd, who was utterly unmoved by lion, leopard, or rhino, evidently held this snake in respect, and yelled to me to get out of the way. Accordingly, I jumped back a few feet, and the snake came over the ground where I had stood ; its evil genius then made it halt for a moment and raise its head to a height of perhaps three feet, and I killed it by a shot through the neck.

Kermit Roosevelt had a very lively encounter with a little leopard of most determined pugnacity, but he eventually brought it dead to his feet. Mr. Roosevelt tells of his going out for a hippo :—

The light was rapidly fading. Judd announced that we would go home, but took one last look around the next bend, and instantly sank to his knees, beckoning to me. I crept forward on all-fours, and he pointed out to me an object in the stream, fifty yards off, under the overhanging branch of a tree, which jutted out from the steep bank opposite. In that light I should not myself have recognised it as a hippo head ; but it was one, looking toward us, with the ears up and the nostrils, eyes, and forehead above water. I aimed for the centre ; the sound told that the bullet had struck somewhere on the head, and the animal disappeared without a splash.

The writer concludes with a tribute to the country. He says :—

While in the highlands of British East Africa it is utterly impossible for a stranger to realise that he is under the equator ; the climate is delightful and healthy. It is a white man's country, a country which should be filled with white settlers ; and no place could be more attractive for visitors. There is no more danger to health incident to an ordinary trip to East Africa than there is to an ordinary trip to the Riviera.

A Co-operative Bakery in Vienna.

THE *Twentieth Century Magazine* for November quotes from *Wiltshire's Magazine* of October a most interesting account of the Co-operative Bakery of Vienna :—

The Socialists and industrial co-operators of Vienna have effectively answered the capitalistic threat of a lock-out or a starvation wage. They have put into practical and successful operation one of the largest and most perfect mills and bakeries in the world—a bakery where 50,000 loaves or more than 150,000 pounds of bread are daily baked. The "Forward Co-operative Store" in Vienna, which has more than 70,000 members, has cut down the profits of the capitalist very sensibly. This immense establishment is in every respect a model factory, and certainly is the most perfect bread factory in the world. All machinery used is of the best and most recent make, and, besides, many new machines are used here for the first time. This bread factory is not only selling a better, healthier and cheaper bread, but it also exercises the most scrupulous care for the health and life of its employés.

THE MAXIM GUN OUT-MAXIMED.

IN the *World's Work* we learn of the invention of a new rapid-firing gun which has increased the killing power of a soldier from twenty to one hundred times, according to circumstances. It has become part of the equipment of the United States Army, but no nation will have the monopoly :—

The new invention, known as the Benet-Mercie gun, will probably displace the Maxim, which has hitherto been thought to have reached the possibilities of rapid-firing. But the Maxim (with its tripod) weighs one hundred and sixty pounds, and five mules are usually required to carry each gun and its equipment. It is, therefore, considered as artillery, for it cannot be kept in the van of an infantry charge, nor can it keep pace with cavalry.

The Benet-Mercie weighs only twenty-two pounds, and in the Government tests an infantryman carried the gun and three hundred rounds of ammunition for five miles. In skirmishing its efficiency was shown to be about equivalent to that of twenty men armed with rifles. Under more favourable conditions it is said to have as great efficiency as an infantry company of from seventy-five to one hundred men.

In cavalry use its advantages are even greater. It is so constructed that its stock, weighing ten pounds, can be hung on one side of the saddle, while the barrel, weighing twelve pounds, can be hung on the other side. The two parts can be adjusted for action in about twenty seconds, and their weight is not sufficient to retard the movements of cavalry. During the Government tests it was found that one mule could easily carry two guns, two extra barrels, and twelve hundred rounds of ammunition.

This new gun is cooled, not with water like the Maxim, which requires the carrying of a heavy weight of water, but by air, and with radiation coils similar to those used in the air-cooling device of an automobile. It is fired from the ground, having supports barely long enough to hold it at a convenient height. The gunner takes a reclining position. Its inventor was Lawrence V. Benet, Managing Director of the Hotchkiss Plant in Paris.

HOME RULE FOR IRELAND.

THERE is a curious article in the *Fortnightly Review* entitled "Eyes and No Eyes," by Mr. W. S. Lilly, the point of view of which is that no one whose moral sense is not hopelessly blunted will doubt that England will have to pay to the uttermost farthing the penalty of her centuries of tyrannical oppression and remorseless cruelty in Ireland. The reckoning has already begun. Who can predict where it will end? Mr. Lilly thinks that anyone who will not close the eyes of his understanding can doubt that Home Rule is "the consummation coming past escape." It is absolutely impossible, upon the principle which John Stuart Mill called "False Democracy," to justify our ruling Ireland from Westminster, in defiance of the wishes of three-fourths of her people, expressed by three-fourths of their Parliamentary representatives. He thinks that the Nationalists are certain in the next Parliament to be "the electoral pivot" of the situation, masters of the position, able to say to the faction in power, "If you don't do this, and if you don't do that, we will turn you out to-morrow."

IN PRAISE OF MACAULAY'S WRITINGS.

BY AN AMERICAN CRITIC.

MR. W. R. THAYER contributes a brilliant literary article to the *North American Review* entitled "Macaulay after Fifty Years":—

Since Macaulay's time English prose has turned to the colloquial on one hand and to preciosity on the other; until to-day half our writers in their struggle to be natural affect a conversational tone, while the other half roll on the floor in a Flaubertian search for the elusive smart phrase and the startling adjective.

To a generation which nourished itself on the expectation of establishing absolute law in human affairs Macaulay seemed not only unprofitable, but a stumbling-block; for his admirable qualities, which the Realists spurned, might, by still holding the unthinking under the spell of Romanticism, retard the spread of the new truths. He was a link in that chain of continuity which stretches back to Athens and Jerusalem. He believed in the primal virtues—in courage, in uprightness, in truth; he revered the family as the irreducible social unit. Our rebels not only doubt, but deny these fundamentals, and set up the gratification of appetites as the end of human existence. Merely as an antidote to much of the confused, febrile, anarchic opinions and emotions which honeycomb our life Macaulay should be read. Untainted by introspection, he may serve as a remedy for morbidness, the blight of those moderns who have not yet flung themselves body and soul into the pit.

Optimism, clear doctrines which chimed with the prevailing ideas of liberty and progress, vivacity, a genius for the pictorial, a level head and wholesome heart—even these endowments would hardly have availed without his amazing style. It was as if in a world in which the highest type of horse had hitherto been the lumbering carter there suddenly appeared, between one day and another, a racer, swift and trim and beautiful.

In historical composition—in the art of variety, of omission, of accent, and of perspective—he will be the teacher of many a coming generation. Judged by whatever standard he is a master of narrative. Compare, for instance, his history, chapter by chapter or episode by episode, with Von Sybel's, and observe how, while Macaulay carries you swiftly and surely along, as on the current of a mighty river, Von Sybel leads you floundering up to the armpits, and sometimes head under, through a boundless morass.

Now Macaulay abounds in life. He visualises, he hears, he feels the Past. Among the hundreds of persons who come and go in his pages there is not a single fossil, no spectral apology for human beings. Macaulay leaves you with a sense of amplitude even where he has been concise. He entertains you with a panoramic wealth of details, but never allows you to grope for the plot. When you close his book and ponder over it, it is as if you had been watching a Roman legion on the march. He was almost a pioneer in weaving into the history of diplomatic and party development a wonderfully vivid description of social conditions. History, as written by him, is a drama in which the plot is known and the *dramatis personæ* are cast for well-defined parts, which they play with brilliance and precision. They resemble the personages of Racine and Corneille rather than those of Shakespeare; they are types rather than individuals.

Macaulay was too surely an optimist to need to fall back on Stoicism; in other respects he was the most Roman of British writers. The intellectual and moral traditions which flourished in him were native among the best Augustans; his writings, especially the History, are the most Roman of all modern productions. It has the massiveness and pomp and solidity, the architectonic mastery, the directness and virility of those builders. The spirit of race was strong within him. The great passages in his writings might almost be regarded as strophes in a paan to Britannia.

MR. GEORGE MEREDITH'S POSTHUMOUS ROMANCE.

THE *Fortnightly Review* begins in the January number the publication of a fragment of one of Mr. George Meredith's posthumous romances. It is entitled "Celt and Saxon." Only three chapters are given this month, which are hardly sufficient to enable us to forecast the drift of the story. The heroine is a Welsh witch maiden, rejoicing in the name of Adiante, who promises to be a worthy addition to the long gallery of Meredithian women. Adiante had jilted the elder brother of Mr. Patrick O'Donnell, a young Irish squire, who, when the story opens, is making his way to the Welsh country house of Earlsfont, where he hoped to be able to find some trace of the faithless maiden. Patrick approached Earlsfont with reluctance owing to his horror of Adiante's faithlessness. The following passage is characteristically Meredithian:—

A faithless man is but a general villain or funny monster, a subject rejected of poets, taking no hue in the flat chronicle of history; but a faithless woman, how shall we speak of her! Women, sacredly endowed with beauty and the wonderful vibrating note about the very mention of them, are criminal to hideousness when they betray. Cry, False! on them, and there is an instant echo of bleeding males in many circles, like the poor quavering flute-howl of transformed beasts, which at some remembering touch bewail their higher state. Those women are sovereignly attractive, too, loathsomely. Therein you may detect the fiend.

Adiante's father, who appears to be the typical Saxon, soon crosses swords with Patrick, the typical Celt. In course of a conversation Patrick, speaking of an Irish Captain Con, is provoked to give Mr. Adister the following airy sketch of the Irish case:—

He began on it as it surged up to him: "Well, sir, the country that's got hold of us, if we're not to get loose. We don't count many millions in Europe, and there's no shame in submitting to *force majeure*, if a stand was once made; and we're mixed up, 'tis true, well or ill; and we're stronger, both of us, united than tearing to strips; and so, there, for the past! so long as we can set our eyes upon something to admire, instead of a bundle squatting fat on a pile of possessions and vowing she won't budge; and taking kicks from a big foot across the Atlantic, and shaking bayonets out of her mob-cap for a little one's cock of the eye at her; and she's all for the fleshpots, and calls the rest of mankind fools because they're not the same; and so long as she can trim her ribands, and have her hot toast and tea, with a suspicion of a dram in it, she doesn't mind how heavy she sits; nor that's not the point, nor's the land question, nor the potato crop, if only she wore the right sort of face to look at, with a bit of brightness about it, to show an idea inside striking a light from the day that's not yet nodding at us, as the tops of big mountains do; or if she were only braced and gallant, and cried, Ready, though I haven't much outlook! We'd be satisfied with her for a handsome figure. I don't know whether we wouldn't be satisfied with her for politeness in her manners. We'd like her better for a spice of devotion to a light higher up in politics and religion. But the key of the difficulty's a sparkle of enthusiasm. It's part business and the greater part sentiment. We want a rousing in the heart of us, or else we'd be pleased with her for sitting so as not to overlap us entirely; we'd feel more at home, and behold her more respectfully. We'd see the policy of an honourable union, and be joined to you by more than a telegraphic cable. That's Captain Con, I think, and many like him."

Further developments of the story will be awaited with interest.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

(1) PAINTED BY THEMSELVES.

RECENTLY there has appeared in Germany a little book by Curt Wigand, a German, entitled "Non-Culture: Chapters on Things German," and in *La Revue* of December 1st M. Edouard de Morsier analyses this brochure, which, as was to be expected, has been passed over in silence by the Press in Germany.

One chapter of the book is devoted to the German antipathy to the English, another to the National Character, and the last bears the general title of "Non-Culture." As the antipathy to the English first showed itself openly in Germany during the South African War, Herr Wigand asks his countrymen why they did not display the same enthusiasm towards the Cubans fighting for their independence against Spain as they showed to the Boers at war against the English. But it is above all the German manner of being national which the author thinks lacking in good taste.

In Germany national defects run in pairs, according to the author. Servile submission to superiors, for instance, exists alongside of arrogant brutality towards inferiors. The duels of students and the coarseness of the masses are sorrowful symptoms, and the German expression "Schadenfreude" is untranslatable in other languages because it does not answer to similar sentiment in any other nation in anything like the same degree. Rejoicing in the discomfiture or disappointments of others, maintains the author, is very common in Germany, and the case of the explosion of the French dirigible *La République*, which inspired expressions of regret in the civilised world as a matter of international courtesy, not to say humanity, is named as one in which the German showed less sincerity than did other nations. On the occasion of the accident to the *Zeppelin*, the French, on the other hand, were much more sincere in their sympathy with Germany. With all their heart they expressed their regrets for the misfortune to science and civilisation, without pausing to think that it happened to their enemy.

A peculiar characteristic of the lack of culture of the Germans is the sad use made of anonymous letters; another is coarseness towards women. Constructive ideology, says Herr Wigand, has always been a strong point with the Germans. It is time they perceived that ethics in action is also a beautiful thing. It is not enough to live; people need to know how to live. It is in the lack of this knowledge that German non-culture consists.

(2) PAINTED BY OTHERS.

In the December number of the *Deutsche Rundschau* Professor Georg Steinhausen gives the first instalment of an article on the Germans as Others see Them. The writer says that while the great political and military success attending the foundation of the German Empire, the mighty economic and technical development of the new Germany, and especially its industrial prosperity, have earned for the Germans a certain amount of respect, these things have been accompanied by an enormous amount of hatred and envy. Nor has the recent growth of naval and military armaments improved matters. Ernst von Wildenbruch, in his last poem, "German New Year, 1909," said in effect, "To-day, waking up after a long dream of twenty years, we look into the world as beggars, and ask, 'Have we nowhere any friends?' And from all ends of the world laughingly comes hatred as the answer." In the present instalment the writer deals with foreign opinions of Germany to the end of the eighteenth century; and next month he will examine the position of Germany in more recent times.

THE EMPEROR FREDERICK'S RESCRIPTS.

IN an interesting article contributed to the *Nouvelle Revue* of November 15th and December 1st M. Arthur Raffalovich recalls to us the important part played by Baron Roggenbach, who was honoured with the confidence of the Emperor Frederick, as Crown Prince, and whose celebrated rescripts he inspired.

Roggenbach was at one time associated with Prince Bismarck, but about 1866 he ceased to be a partisan and admirer of the Chancellor. When the Emperor Frederick died Roggenbach was at the Palace, and the present Kaiser had a long interview with him. Through the newspapers Bismarck heard that Roggenbach had been with the Emperor, and he determined to take the first opportunity to avenge himself. An occasion was soon forthcoming in Dr. Geffcken's indiscretion in publishing extracts from the Emperor Frederick's Diary in the *Deutsche Rundschau*. There were references to Roggenbach in the published document, and Bismarck, whose intellectual lucidity was troubled by hallucinations owing to insomnia, seemed to think his position was threatened by the voice beyond the tomb. Infuriated, he addressed a report to the Kaiser, containing remarks about second-rate political counsellors, who in 1870 recommended violent methods to the Crown Prince, etc. While the case against Dr. Geffcken was proceeding, entrance to Roggenbach's house was forced, and his papers were examined to find if possible some proofs of complicity in the crime of high treason. But all important letters had been consigned to the flames. At length the hour of expiation was at hand. Bismarck seemed to be doing everything preparatory to a fall. The more he was contradicted the more enraged would he become. After the catastrophe he is reported to have said that Roggenbach was a veritable statesman. Nevertheless, in his Reminiscences he has given us quite a different portrait of Roggenbach, whose influence over the Emperor Frederick he so greatly feared. After the Geffcken affair Roggenbach was no more in evidence, but age did not modify his Liberal convictions. He died in 1907, at the age of eighty-two.

ITALY AND THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

RAQUENI, well known as a writer on questions relating to Italy, has an article on Italy and Russia in the first December number of the *Nouvelle Revue*.

The meeting of the Tsar and the King of Italy is described as a great diplomatic success for Signor Tittoni. The *entente cordiale* between Russia and Italy, says the writer, will prevent the Adriatic becoming an Austrian lake. But will it also prevent the renewal of the Triple Alliance in 1912? Most Italian politicians think that in order to avoid war with Austria, Italy will be obliged to renew the Alliance. In the Treaty there is a clause in virtue of which the two allies guarantee to Italy the possession of Rome, and it is for this reason that the Austrian Emperor has always opposed the publication of the Treaty, so as not to annoy the Pope. But to-day this guarantee is superfluous. Republican France has never dreamt of restoring the Temporal Power of the Papacy, and Italy is absolutely convinced of the fact.

One thing, however, is certain—namely, that Italy will never consent to the anticipated renewal of the Triplice or content herself with the famous guarantee as to the possession of Rome, but will impose other conditions if she thinks it opportune to remain the ally of Germany and Austria out of love for peace. She will demand to be treated on the footing of perfect equality by her two allies. Germany has no illusion as to the real sentiments of Italy. The presence of Italy in the Triplice is henceforward considered useless, for Germany and Austria, in the case of a conflict with France, England, or Russia, could not count on her. At Vienna the official Press has been more calm than the German Press. There is there a conviction that the Italo-Russian Agreement will not prevent the renewal of the Triplice. That will depend more on Austria than on Italy. But whether the Triplice be renewed or not, it has ceased to inspire fear.

Italy, in relying on the Triple Entente, would not have to fear any aggression on the part of Austria if she found it opportune to retire from the Triplice. According to Raqueni, Italy, in resuming liberty of action in 1912, would become the arbiter of the situation in Europe. Herr Maximilian Harden has said it is possible to be friends without being allies. Raqueni repeats that the policy of alliances is made for war, and that of friendships for peace. Italy will act wisely, at the expiration of the Treaty allying her to Germany and Austria, to follow the policy of "independent always, isolated never," and as the result she will not be isolated, but will be serving more usefully the cause of peace.

THE frontispiece of the twenty-fourth volume of *Scribner* is a coloured picture of the flights at Rheims during the aviation week, from a sketch in colours made on the spot by Charles Hoffbauer. In the fiction, which is plentifully present in the number, the aeroplane figures prominently.

SHAKESPEARE AND THE SEA.

MRS. HANNAH GRIERSON contributes to the *Contemporary Review* a very charming literary essay on "Shakespeare and the Sea." She says that there is something of the freshness and vastness of the sea running through every play that Shakespeare has written. Eleven, at least, of his comedies and tragedies are played, some in part, some altogether, to an *obbligato* of winds and waves. Mrs. Grierson has a quaint conceit of her own to the effect that she can trace the gradual growth of Shakespeare's views as to the sea. She finds, by studying his dramas in chronological sequence, he began by disliking the sea, and ended by loving it exceedingly :—

In the very early plays the sea stands for parting and sundering; it is an obstacle and hindrance, something to be crossed and so overcome. It sundered lovers and friends; its influence on human life was a malign one.

In "Romeo and Juliet" there is a change and a development. The sea is no longer merely terror or parting; it stands rather for sorrow. It was better to have sailed on that sea, even to shipwreck, than to have stayed on the shore in safety. The sea is part of life, not an enemy of life now. But, on the whole, the sea *is* terrible in the historical plays, and the subtle symbolism of which we saw a glimpse in "Romeo and Juliet" is absent.

But where it images the individual life it is its storms and dangers that stand first. It is unrestful, and the mention of it comes with troubled thoughts as a rule. The sea is a sea of faction; the storms are those of rebellion and disloyalty. The symbolism is not very prominent in the two sea comedies of the middle period, "The Merchant" and "Twelfth Night."

In Othello,

The storm is over-past—is, as it were, overcome; but it is not as an enemy merely that Othello thinks of it. The recollection of it heightens his joy to ecstasy. The very peril is an exhilaration, not a terror. He is not thinking of the sea as a danger, or as a means of destruction, or as something opposed to human prosperity; it has come to be likened to the force of human will and mind, not working at random, but moving in obedience to the law of its own nature for the accomplishment of an object.

In "Timon of Athens," notwithstanding its prevailing gloom, Mrs. Grierson finds at first the sea seems to be an emblem of despair, afterwards it changes, and Timon seeks purification and peace in the depths of the sea, whose very vastness shall give him rest from himself :—

Pardon and peace at the last, and the "light foam of the sea" touching the low grave with tenderness, the visible world at one for a moment with the spiritual in a great reconciliation.

"Pericles," although not altogether of Shakespeare's writing, is full of lines on the sea, and is indeed played in great part on ship board. She says :—

If I have dwelt at some length upon "Pericles" it is because of its close relation to "The Tempest," the crowning and final play. Its winds and waves are familiar to us, and it is because they are the very same as those that obeyed Prospero's bidding, and brought healing and reconciliation about under his guidance. We have seen the sea thought of in connection with sorrow, with adventurous daring, with action, with probation, with purification. Here all the varied associations blend into unity.

It is a very thoughtful essay, the main thesis of which, however ingenious it may appear, is very well sustained.

A NOBEL PRIZE-WINNER.

SELMA LAGERLÖF AND HER WORK.

SELMA LAGERLÖF, to whom the Swedish Academy has awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, is not altogether a stranger to this country, for two, at least, of her books have appeared in English dress —"Gösta Berling's Saga" in 1899, her first important book, said also to be her masterpiece, and "The Wonderful Adventures of Nils" in 1908. The *Revue des Deux Mondes* of December 15th contains an interesting study, by André Bellessort, of the work of the Swedish lady who is the first Swede to receive the prize for literature.

THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE NORTH.

The Swede, he says, requires of his story-tellers stranger and more diverting tales than those which he relates to himself during the monotony of his winters and the insomnia of his summers. He does not ask for sobriety, or rapidity, or indeed any of those qualities which people in a hurry demand. He adores the unexpected, live sensation, mystery, the supernatural, adventures in the forest.

Selma Lagerlöf is the queen of fancy. Her manner of cutting up a story into scenes and tableaux is due to the natural and impressionist character of her imagination. The woods, the sleeping waters, the winds, the flowers, the stones, are the eternal woof of her dreams. To her there is no definite line of demarcation between the conscious and the unconscious world. The constant and instinctive assimilation of our feelings with the aspects of Nature justifies the title of one of her books, "Invisible Ties," and the collection of stories ends by penetrating us with a sort of universal animism, in which thought becomes a landscape and the landscape a thought. What she likes above all is the contrast, so Swedish, of the mobility of life with the immobility of ancient customs. She herself has practised all the customs which unite the past and the present and make Sweden a country of persistent traditions, and she knows all the direct ways by which to reach the minds of the humble. She is a powerful evoker of phantoms, and her work is charged with invisible powers. Her personages are peasants, fishermen, the humble people of the world, whose lives are passed in solitude. What they dread most in winter is not the storms and the terrible cold, but the inexorable isolation—the monotony of days scarcely distinguishable from the nights, for the darkness seems to take possession of their souls, extinguishing one after another every light.

THE AUTHOR'S PLEASURE IN HER CREATIONS.

Seated on the old stool of the sagas, Selma Lagerlöf seems to enjoy more the pleasure which she gives than that which she feels. In the following passage she seems to define her happy influence :—

> The great violinist Lilliécrona, whose nomadic and fantastic humour is the despair of his wife and children, returns to his family. Outside squalls of wind are whirling columns of snow in a giddy round in the fields. But he, seated on a stool in his fireside corner, story-teller and musician by turns, before his attentive and delighted family, suddenly sets out for adventures, and gallops across the world to the stars. And to this soul all life at once becomes high, beautiful, and rich.

THE MORALIST.

But her work is not without its defects. For instance, what does she seek to prove by the following incident ?—

> Two condemned men have reached the forest. One, a rich peasant, has murdered an insolent monk at a banquet; the other, the son of a sailor and of a sorceress, is charged with a theft, responsibility for which he has assumed to save his father. These two men live in the same cave. The son of the sorceress is a Pagan, though he knows something about Christ and the Saints. His ignorance of all moral ideas frightens his companion, who thereupon undertakes his religious education and represents to him a just and avenging God—with the result that the neophyte conceives the horror of the crime with which his evangelist has stained his hands. He would like to save the soul of the man who has revealed to him the tortures of Hell, but he only sees one way for the murderer to make expiation and gain eternal salvation. So the Pagan ends by killing his companion. "I killed him," he remarks, "because he taught me that the foundation on which the world rests is Justice."

Perhaps, suggests M. Bellessort, the idea in the author's mind is that a man who has put himself outside the law has no right to preach respect for that law, or that, if he does it, he tightens the rope round his own throat.

WHAT LONDON OWES TO FREE TRADE.

IN a delightfully illustrated paper on Old London in *Scribner's* Mr. F. C. Howe describes it as the pulmonary centre of the commercial life of Christendom. He says London is the counter of the world :—

> England is the only great nation which opens its doors to the trade of the world, unhampered and unrestrained by taxes, tariffs, imposts, or octroi. And because of this fact Great Britain is the counter across which the wealth of the world is exchanged. Here the products of every clime are freely swapped. It is not that England has subsidised her merchant marine. It is not that trade follows the flag. It is the freedom with which men trade across an open counter that has given Great Britain supremacy of the seas. It is this that has built up her cotton and her woollen trade, her cutlery and tool industries. It is this that has given her wares a welcome entry into every port. The shipping of the United Kingdom equals two-thirds of that of the entire world. It amounts to 19,724,728 gross tons. At one time the United States was a close competitor. But protection closed our gates to other people, and mediæval navigation laws compelled our shipowners to place their vessels under foreign registry.
>
> New York would be the clearing-house of the world were her ports free from the barriers of a prohibitive tariff.

THE *Atlantic Monthly* makes a special feature of the Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn, edited by Elizabeth Bisland. One can only say they are eminently characteristic. A British Marine officer asks, "Can America Produce Merchant Seamen ?" and replies, "No," one of the grounds being that Americans are the most lawless people in the world, and could not submit to the discipline necessary on board ship. He maintains that the future American Mercantile Marine will be manned chiefly by Scandinavians and officered by New England men.

THE BLACK PERIL.

IN the American *World's Work* Mr. B. P. Putnam Weale treats of the world's Black Problem in a series of articles on the Conflict of Colour. He paints a very dark picture of the possibilities of the future. The white race doubles in eighty years, the yellow or brown in sixty years, and the black in forty years. By the end of the present century there should certainly be 300,000,000 negroes in the world. The tension between whites and blacks may be expected to increase as the world is more densely peopled. The internal black problem—the future of the negro in America, of the native in Madagascar, in the Philippines, and in the countless islands of the Atlantic and the Pacific—is not, in the judgment of the writer, very serious, though not without lurid possibilities.

A BLACK ISLAM!

The external black problem is tremendously greater; it is the problem of the future of all Africa. In Africa, again, it is the Northern black that is the most serious menace. Those negroes who have embraced Islam show a certain manliness, and could form strong states and organise armies and obey laws if the proper incentives existed. Omdurman was not the last word, but the first word of what may one day be attempted on a colossal scale. The one bar to an Arab-led Mohammedan black power extending from the Arabian peninsula to the Atlantic is England in Egypt. "One day the white nations will have to fight again for their supremacy in Africa on a new basis, just as they are already beginning to fight for their supremacy in Asia." In the butchers' work of the battle-field the Arab, the crossbred, and the Zulu have nothing to learn.

CHRISTIANITY THE BLACK SAMSON'S DELILAH.

The one hope the writer seems to cherish for the safety of Africa is the Christianising of the negro:—

Africa is the one region where the spread of Christianity is to be heartily desired. If the negro, in measure as he is civilised, goes to Islamism, he must become a greater peril; if he is Christianised his destructive strength is stripped from him as was Samson's strength when his locks were cut.

He concludes that the Christianising of the negro will have in future days much greater political importance than it has now. But Christianity as the Delilah of the negro Samson is a novel idea.

In the English *World's Work* Mr. Putnam Weale discusses the Brown Peril in India and Egypt. He quotes John Stuart Mill's tremendous dictum, "such a thing as government of one people by another does not and cannot exist." He declares that in India the general hatred of the European is being narrowed down to hatred of the oppressive bureaucracy. He considers India's demands, as voiced by Mr. Gokhale, to be reasonable and certain to be realised. He urges England and Russia to come to closer understanding, and suggests that a Moslem Empire from the Bosphorus to the Hindu Kush might be an important safeguard to both Britain and Russia from German aggression.

THE CANALS IN MARS.

DR. A. W. ROBERTS writes in *Chambers's Journal* on Mars as a Habitable World. He says that there are only half a dozen occasions during the twentieth century in which Mars will approach almost as near to our planet as 35,000,000 miles:—

Every astronomer has a theory about the Martian canals, and the writer has his. His view is that the canals are cracks caused by the long winter cold—the Martian winter lasts through nearly twelve of our months; that these cracks are filled with ice; that as the summer advances the ice melts; that the Martian soil expanding under the heat of summer forces out the water into the adjacent fields. The difficulty is to get the water back again into the cracks; but no theory is perfect.

While recognising that life may be possible under totally different conditions, the writer concludes, "We must unhesitatingly say that life as we know it is impossible upon Martian shores."

FAR-SIGHTED TOWN PLANNING.

IN the *Twentieth Century Magazine* Mr. G. W. James describes municipal art in the Western States as illustrated in Spokane, in the eastern part of the State of Washington. In 1906 the Mayor appointed a board of park commissioners, with A. L. White at its head:—

No sooner was he in office and actually empowered to work officially than he began a most systematic campaign of education and agitation for the beautification and improvement of the city. This has resulted in the appointment of a City Plan Committee, consisting of fifty members composed of the leading (and by leading I mean broad and esthetically educated) professional and business men of the city. It is the appointed work of this committee to work out a plan, sane and practical, for the water, sewers, transportation, parks, boulevards, municipal art, etc., *for the city for the next fifty years.*

Here is intelligence condensed. I regard this as one of the most important and sensible, the most rational and far-seeing pieces of practical wisdom yet perpetrated by any American city.

Beautiful illustrations are given of the parks and buildings of this city. The writer regards Spokane as one of the most enlightened and hopeful of the younger cities in regard to the general civic art improvements that the United States has to-day.

Man Writing with Lightning.

THE electric pen, the invention of Dr. D. P. Ghadiali, "the Parsee Edison," is described in the *World's Work* by Arthur Norton. The pen is attached by a flexible cord to an electric apparatus, and the resulting current of 10,000 volts rushes in intermittent discharges from the point of the pen through the paper to the aluminium plate on the desk. The characters are thus traced by lines of minute perforation. Eight sheets of paper can be thus written or perforated at once. A signature so made is indelible and incapable of being produced in facsimile. So when Miss Barrett said of her future husband, "his passion burns the paper," she seems to have anticipated in metaphor the actual working of the electric pen.

CORNEY GRAIN AND THE OTHER WORLD.

ALLEGED EXPERIENCES OF A CLAIRAUDIENT.

A WRITER, signing herself "M.S.," contributes to the *Occult Review* for January an article entitled "Some More Experiences of a Clairaudient." She is one of those psychics who assert that they can hear the voices of invisible intelligences. Hence she has as many unseen friends as those who are visible to her eyes. Among these friends, she maintains, is the disembodied spirit of the late Corney Grain, society entertainer. Five years after he passed over she was resting one afternoon on her sofa after a long and tiring morning shopping, when a voice, claiming to belong to Corney Grain, spoke to her. She asked him why he had spoken to her, as, although she had enjoyed his performances at St. George's Hall, she was an absolute stranger to him :—

He replied that he happened to be wandering around when he noticed me, rather liked my aura, because, as he said, he detected a sense of humour in it, and decided to try whether he could make me see or hear him. We soon became most excellent friends, and many a dull hour did he beguile with his amusing tales of his earthly experiences. Very often the passer-by must have taken me for an escaped lunatic when I laughed out audibly as the result of some remark of his as he was walking along the streets with me.

Corney Grain would accompany her on her visits to town, and would often interrupt her in housework in order to enjoy a conversation. The following extract will be read with interest by many of those who in days past frequented St. George's Hall :—

One day I said to him : "It is such a comfort to think that one does not lose one's sense of humour when one leaves the earth." "Why should one?" said he. "I am just the same man I was before, only very pleased to get rid of that suffering and cumbersome carcase of mine." He was very fond of music—especially of Grieg and Wagner. Whenever I played the Siegmund and Sieglinde "Motif," however, out of the Ring music, he would beg me to stop, as he could not bear the pathetic yearning of that wondrous love music; he said it wakened up all the regrets of his life. I think, from what he told me, that latterly he had felt very much that his professional work and necessarily close observation of human nature had made him hypercritical, so that he was unable to enjoy ordinary human intercourse like other people. All the time he was consciously or unconsciously taking notes of their idiosyncrasies. He also felt that people were afraid of him and avoided him. Sometimes poor Corney was in a despondent mood about his past life and work, and I used to try and cheer him by reminding him of the thousands of people he had delighted, how pure and wholesome the fun always was, how he had never said a word that could lower or demoralise, but had cheered up many a soul and lightened the everyday burden. I said to him once : "I can just see you now coming out of that side door on to the stage at St. George's Hall, and feel again my delighted breathless expectation of enjoyment." Whilst I spoke I evidently made a mental image of him which he saw reflected in my brain, for the only remark he made was : "Good Lord, did I look such a brute as that? I see nothing but an expanse of shirt front with one responsible stud." "That was all I used to see when you came on," I replied, "expanse?—why, it was a continent."

CUTS FOR A WOMAN'S CONSCIENCE.

IN the *Westminster Review* Elizabeth Saville, under the title of "The Dew of Mercy," deals faithfully (some would say savagely) with the inhumanity of her fashionable sisters :—

As you went along Regent Street last autumn and admired, with a womanly eye for beauty, that fine coat of Persian lamb skin, what was it decided your wavering mind, and brought out the guineas from your pocket? Perhaps the fascinating curl of its silky hair—how well it looked, and how it would adorn your feminine figure? How did it acquire its pleasing little crimple, do you think? As soon as the lamb was born it was taken warm from its mother's body, frightened and palpitating, and crushed into a tight leathern bag, so that the curl could not expand. With this appearance it is of much more market value—the moral law is trifled with, for so many £ s. d. Do you know how your Astrachan stole of last season assumed its desirable kink? The unborn lamb was cut from its mother's ripped-up womb, and the skin torn from the tender body, so that the fur should be more attractive to purchasers. You did not know, perhaps, that to get that soft pliability, your perfectly fitting suede gloves were fashioned of skin stripped from the living kid? Nor that your osprey aigrette, which lends such piquancy to your winter hat, was torn from the warm body of a living bird? If you did you would discard such barbarities, of course, and raise your voice in pity for the innocent dumb things which suffer through man's ignorance of inhumanity. Never be persuaded to wear or use any animal product where you suspect there has been outrage or brutality in its procurement.

A RUSSIAN VILLAGE FOR A HOLIDAY.

IN mid-winter the mind turns longingly towards the far-distant summer vacation, and welcomes plans, feasible or impossible, for spending it. Mr. H. O. S. Wright, in the *Westminster Review*, has an interesting suggestion to make :—

Let me advise, then, those who would seek a restful, unconventional holiday, to devote a time to learning the language, then hie them away to a Russian village. It should not cost more than a holiday in England. Butter is fivepence a pound, eggs are five a penny, bread is cheap, vegetables and fruit are almost free, and even some kinds of meat are less dear than at home. I have paid only fourteen shillings a week for a room and four square meals per day, everything of the best, and the quantity unlimited. But he who would go must hasten his going, for such a state of things will not endure for ever. And if he fail to go, he may miss some very pleasant experiences. I have but to let my mind drift a little, and I am once more on a stout grey mare riding from village to village, saluted by hearty greetings from total strangers. There are no walls, no notices to trespassers, to hinder a gallop over the fields. On holidays—and there are many—the village plots are gay with brightly dressed girls and red-shirted men dancing and playing at kiss-in-the-ring. On other days the same bright petticoats and red shirts are moving in and out amid the corn and hay. Within the cabins, a samovar steams for tea, a buckwheat pudding and some vegetable soup are cooking on the stove, rye-bread and butter are laid out on the table with fruit and eggs; for the labourer must not go hungry when he comes from the fields. There is enough to eat, the house is cosy, the man content. And to-morrow it will be the same; perchance, again to-morrow; and then, no more. For the peace and security in sufficiency, if not in riches, of the willing rural worker are doomed. Stolypin has spoken, the Government has approved, and ere long the most equitable land-system of Europe must die. With it perishes the happiness of ninety million peasants.

FROM THE OCCULT MAGAZINES.

SOMETHING LIKE A MANGO "TRICK."

THE Editor of the *Hindu Spiritual Magazine*, in his November number, deals somewhat sarcastically with Mr. H. Carrington's rather bumptious book on "Hindu Magic." Mr. Carrington is sure the mango trick is all a fraud, alleging as one reason for his scepticism that the apparent miracle is never performed with any other than a mango seed. This does not happen to be a fact. The Editor quotes the following story from the memoirs of the great Mogul Emperor, Shah Jehangir :—

On one occasion there came into my Court seven Bengal performers who stated that of any tree that should be named they would set the seed in the earth, and that I should immediately witness the extraordinary result. Khanu-e-Jahum, one of the nobles present, observed that if they spoke truly, he should wish them to produce for his conviction a mulberry tree. The men arose without hesitation, and having in ten separate spots set some seed in the ground, they recited among themselves, in cabalistical language unintelligible to the standers-by, when instantly a plant was seen springing from each of ten places, and each proved the tree required by Khanu-e-Jahum. In the same manner they produced a mango, an apple tree, a cypress, a pine-apple, a fig tree, an almond, a walnut, and many more trees, and this without any attempt at concealment in the operation ; but open to the observation of all present, the trees were perceived gradually and slowly springing from the earth, to the height of one, or perhaps of two cubits, when they shot forth leaves and branches ; the apple tree in particular producing fruit, which fruit was brought to me, and I can attest to its fragrance.

HOW IT STRIKES AN OBSERVER IN THE ORIENT.

I have been so much abused at home for venturing to speak the truth concerning facts which are within my own knowledge as to psychic phenomena that I hope my readers will pardon me for quoting the following passage from the *Hindu Spiritual Magazine* of November :—

Mr. Stead has done more for the cause than most men by his frank avowal of faith. He has strengthened the cause, not only by testifying to the extraordinary phenomena that he has witnessed, and himself has produced by his own mediumship, but also by the able manner he discusses the issues. He is one of the ablest writers of the age ; he marshals his facts and arguments in such a manner as to confound his prejudiced opponents. But his example has done more than his precept to compel belief. He is a man of sixty who devotedly loved his boy of thirty. This boy has left him for the spiritual spheres, yet Mr. Stead has not been overcome by the calamity. What is a greater calamity than bereavement? Hitherto it ruled triumphant, but now spiritualism has taken away its sting, as it has taken away the sting of death, to avoid which men would sacrifice everything. Such is the power of blessed spiritualism.

THE AUSTRIAN EMPRESS'S DEATH OMENS.

In *McClure's Magazine* for January M. Xavier Paoli, the French police official who looks after the safety of crowned heads, begins his memoirs by telling of his experience with the Empress Elizabeth of Austria. In the course of his article he asks :—

Had the Empress ever felt a presentiment of the dramatic death which a gypsy at Wiesbaden and a fortune-teller at Corfu had both predicted? Two singular incidents give some reason for supposing that she had. The evening before her departure, she had asked M. Barcker to read her a few chapters from a volume by Marion Crawford, entitled "Corleone," in which the author describes the abominable murder perpetrated by the Mafia in Sicily. While she was listening to the reading of these tragic incidents, a crow came and circled round her, attracted by the odour of some fruit she was eating. Much disturbed, she had vainly tried to drive him away, but he constantly came back, awakening all the echoes around with his croakings. Then she hastily left the place, for she knew that crows announce death whenever their ill-omened wings persist in flapping around a living person.

Countess Sztaray told me that, the very morning of the assassination, going, as usual, into the Empress's room to ask how she had passed the night, she had found the sovereign pale and depressed.

"I have had a strange feeling," she said. "I was awakened in the night by the moonlight which flooded the room, for they had forgotten to close the curtains. I saw the moon from my bed, and it seemed to be a human face looking at me and weeping. Is that a presentiment? I have an idea that some misfortune is coming upon me."

FROM A LEADING REVIEW.

The *Contemporary Review* publishes a weird story from the pen of Mabel Holmes, called "A Night with Vika of Vavau," in which the writer gives an account of an extraordinary experience which she had with the native wife of an Englishman settled in the Friendly Islands. The story is admirably told, but it loses somewhat of its effectiveness by leaving us somewhat in the dark as to whether or not the strange prophecies made to her were or were not fulfilled in after life.

Another paper in the *Contemporary Review* deals with a subject interesting to all psychical students. It is that by Mr. J. Arthur Hill, in which he tells his experiences in automatic writing, and with a planchette. He sums these up as follows :—

It is proved that planchette will often perpetrate mystifications, and that it will sometimes write matter which is not consciously known to the automatists ; but, as in Dr. Thornton's case, the facts may have been known and forgotten. The question naturally arises : Does it ever write true facts which the automatists *probably never knew*? Startling as it may seem, the answer is in the affirmative. The phenomenon is not common, but it does sometimes occur. In these cases, it is necessary to resort to the hypothesis of thought-transference in explanation.

A word of warning in conclusion. Automatic writing is neither dangerous nor harmful for well-balanced minds, but it is best left alone by the physically weak, and by the very emotional, credulous, and impressionable.

FROM "LONDON."

Borderland is steadily invading magazinedom. Even so popular a periodical as *London* devotes three papers this month to the subject. Mr. H. Blackwell recounts his wonderful experiences with spirit photographs. Mr. R. C. Bayley rejoins with an account of "faked" spirit photographs. Both writers agree in declaring that there has been imposture ; Mr. Bayley is not satisfied that there has been one photograph proved to be of a discarnate sitter. Mr. H. Manners Howe narrates "True Stories of Modern Ghosts." He hints at explanations which may come along the line of wireless telegraphy and telepathy ; and concludes with the entirely dogmatic assertion "That as living men and women we can ever turn aside the veil which hides the mysteries beyond the entrance gate of Death is but an empty hope and vain imagining."

MUSIC AND ART IN THE MAGAZINES.

ANGELS IN ART.

AN interesting and seasonable art article is one in the December number of *Velhagen* on Angels in Italian Art. Professor Paul Schubring, the writer, begins his study with a description of a wonderful mosaic in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum dating back to the middle of the sixth century, and destined for a church at Ravenna. In the apsis the youthful Christ is represented standing with bare feet in a Paradise where roses and lilies grow. He is presenting the sacred writings to the faithful, and is reading the words, "He who sees me sees my Father; I and my Father are one." This portion of the picture appeals entirely to the eye, while the upper part, a triumphal arch containing a series of figures depicted blowing their trumpets and proclaiming the "Dies iræ," is intended to appeal to the ear. But the Prince of Paradise is not alone. On either side of him are the white archangels Michael and Gabriel, and in solemn manner and with outspread wings they maintain silence. Often the three archangels are represented together as in Botticini's "Tobias and the Three Archangels." Gabriel as the Angel of Life is to be found alone in the pictures of the Annunciation, and Domenichino has painted a Tobias with Raphael alone. The subordinate angels have many *rôles*; they sing in chorus at the Nativity, they play all kinds of musical instruments, they appear as God's messengers on many occasions, they support the saints and martyrs, etc., and all these functions are favourite subjects in Christian art. Carlo Bunoni has painted a St. Cecilia with an angel as Amor.

MADAME VIGÉE-LEBRUN.

Writing in the *National Review* for December, Mr. Austin Dobson gives us an interesting article on Madame Vigée-Lebrun, based on the "Souvenirs" published by the artist in 1835-7. Madame Lebrun's picture of herself and her daughter and her "Girl with the Muff," both in the Louvre, are well known; and her "Chapeau de Paille" at the National Gallery, suggested by Rubens's "Susanna Fourment," also at the National Gallery, is no unworthy pendant to the picture of the famous master. Like her mother, Madame Lebrun made an unfortunate marriage, and her little daughter, often painted by her mother, was also destined to an unhappy married life. Madame Lebrun's *salon* in Paris was the resort of Court and town—grandes dames, grands seigneurs, men of mark in letters and the arts, pianists, poets. Her favourite and most frequent model was Marie Antoinette, but she painted all the Royal Family except M. d'Artois. In 1795 she went to Russia and painted several members of the Imperial Family. She was to have painted Catherine herself, but apoplexy put an end to everything. She returned to Paris in 1801, and in 1802 she came to London and settled in Maddox Street. Shortly after Bonaparte had been proclaimed Emperor she returned to France. In 1813 she lost her husband; in 1814 she was plundered by the Allies; in 1819 she lost her daughter, and in 1820 her brother. After this she went to Bordeaux. In 1835 she was eighty, and was still practising her art, and her *salon* was also assiduously patronised by distinguished personages. She died at Paris in her eighty-eighth year. The portraits painted by her number six hundred and sixty.

AN ADVENT HYMN.

Antiquity, says a writer in the December number of the *Musical Times*, is one of the great attributes of the church-song of the people. One of the best-known of ancient Advent hymns, that beginning "O come, O come, Emmanuel!" is a versification of five of the great Antiphons for use during Advent. The translation in general use is by the Rev. Dr. John Mason Neale. As to the tune usually associated with it, the source from which it was taken has usually been supposed to be a French missal in the National Library at Lisbon. But the Rev. W. Hilton, who has examined all the missals at Lisbon, says this melody is not to be found in them. Mr. William Cowan thinks that it has been made up of a number of plainsong phrases and has been adapted to Dr. Neale's translation. The tune is named "Veni, Emmanuel," or "Ephratah."

A CHRISTMAS HYMN.

The antiquity of the words of the Christmas Hymn, "Of the Father sole begotten," admits of no disputation, says the same writer. Its author, Aurelius Clemens Prudentius, was a Spaniard, who lived about 348-413. Dr. Neale's translation is that generally used, but as in the "Veni, Emmanuel," it has been somewhat modified. With regard to the tune associated with it, the Rev. W. H. Frere says it was originally a Trope to the Sanctus. It appears in Tropes of the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries in Italy and Germany.

A CHRISTMAS CAROL.

In the *Sunday at Home* for December there is a carol, with music, the tune being attributed to Michael Haydn. The words of the famous German carol were written in 1818 by Joseph Mohr, a Catholic priest of Salzburg. Surely it is an error to give the name of Michael Haydn as the composer of the tune. Mohr's friend, Franz Gruber, composed the tune at the same time that the words were written, and Mohr sang the carol in the church at Oberndorf, where Gruber was organist, on Christmas Eve, 1818. The carol and its tune produced a deep impression, and henceforth it became a wanderer from land to land, but it was copied or was sung by ear. In 1833 the hymn and its tune was written down and published. Many translators have tried their hand at an English rendering of the carol.

Random Readings from the Reviews.

THE TRUTH ABOUT OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

No Liberal has ever said or suggested that if the Unionists were to be returned to power they would stop the payment of old-age pensions to the present recipients. But everyone knows that they were, and still are, violently opposed to pensions on a non-contributory basis. If ever they should have reason to believe that they are firmly seated in power, I should quite expect them to pass a law that, except for persons already drawing pensions, and perhaps for those about to be entitled to them shortly, say, within seven years, the basis should be contributory. So, although poor men over sixty-three may be safe, those under that age had better look out for themselves.—PROFESSOR BEESLY, in the *Positivist Review*.

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COST OF "DREADNOUGHT" AND BATTLE COMPARED.

Mr. Lloyd George says that a duke costs as much as two *Dreadnoughts*. The *American World's Work* reckons that many a battle has cost the loser economically less than the loss it incurred in having to build a battleship :—

Twenty such battles could have been fought during the latter half of the year 1909 with no greater cost than that of the twenty monstrous ships begun within that period. And this strange and cruel contest has been waged in mere apprehension of a future cause! Furthermore, it has left the participants precisely where they were before, in the same relative positions of strength, although all the nations involved are really weaker than they were at the start. This surely is a very strange chapter in modern history.

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THE HOOKWORM.

The American *World's Work* describes the campaign, which Mr. Rockefeller is financing, against the hookworm in the Southern States. The editor says :—

It is this disease that has long held back, and now holds back, millions of native Americans of English stock from a normal development. It has made them inert, unsuccessful, unambitious, inefficient. The South has a grave labour problem because so many of its people have been too sick to work effectively or skilfully. The South has a grave educational problem because so many of its people have been too sick to care for education or to pay for it or to profit by it. The South has a problem of delayed moral vigour because so many of its people have been too sick to develop strength of character. This disease has thus caused these millions to be underfed, undertrained, undeveloped in every way. It has caused them to be misunderstood. It has caused them to misunderstand the rest of the world. The hookworm can be traced these last fifty years in its deadening effect on industry, on politics, on character.

* * *

NOVELIST AND DIPLOMATIST.

The novelist Rudolf Lindau, elder brother of Paul Lindau, has just celebrated his eighty-first birthday. He lives in retirement in Heligoland. In the early days of his career (says E. de Morsier in *La Revue* of December 1st) he was secretary to Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, and a contributor to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. He wrote French so perfectly that M. Buloz was wont to say that he had only two contributors whose proofs he had no need to revise, and they were two Germans—Rudolf Lindau and Karl Hillebrand. In 1859 he was sent by the Swiss Confederation to Japan to arrange the terms of a commercial treaty between Switzerland and Japan. He remained ten years at Yokoharno, where he founded an English journal and published a book in French on Japan. Returning to Europe in 1869, he was an official correspondent during the Franco-German War; then he became an attaché to the Embassy at Paris, and next he was intimately associated with Bismarck at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. He was head of the Press Bureau, a champion of the Triple Alliance in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and finally a German delegate to the Administration of the Public Debt at Constantinople.

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"JACOB'S LADDER" SONATA.

Josef Haydn composed an apparently easy sonata for the violin, and sent it anonymously to an amateur who had a strong partiality for the extreme upper notes of the violin. Charmed with the opening of the sonata, the recipient of Haydn's attention said, "Here is a composer who thoroughly understands how to write for the instrument." But as he found himself compelled to go higher and higher without any prospect of coming down again, the perspiration burst out upon his forehead, and he exclaimed, "What sort of a composition is this? The man knows nothing whatever of the violin." Haydn called the sonata "Jacob's Ladder."—*Musical Times*, December.

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TUBERCULOSIS AND ALCOHOLISM IN FRANCE.

In a note in the first December number of *La Revue* E de Morsier tells us that in France there are twice as many deaths from consumption as there are in other countries. In fact, there are 60,000 children to be snatched from death annually, and 100,000 adults to be saved. The progress realised in Norway shows that a methodical war against the scourge begun in the schools is sure to triumph, and he would have France learn to economise her live forces in a similar manner. But before all things a war against alcoholism should be undertaken. In France there are now half a million cabarets—on an average one authorised for every eighty inhabitants, but in certain towns in the north the proportion is a cabaret to every fifty-three inhabitants, or every fourteen electors.

The Reviews Reviewed.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

A SENSATIONAL feature of the *Fortnightly Review* for January is the first three chapters of Mr. George Meredith's posthumous and unfinished novel entitled "Celt and Saxon," which is noticed elsewhere. The articles dealing with the issues of the present Election are also dealt with under the heading of "The Issues before the Electors."

THE THEOLOGY OF CHRISTMAS PRESENTS.

Mr. G. K. Chesterton has a very brief but very characteristic article entitled "The Theology of Christmas Presents." He says:—

The idea of embodying goodwill—that is of putting it into a body—is the huge and primal idea of the Incarnation. A gift of God that can be seen and touched is the whole point of the epigram of the creed. Christ Himself was a Christmas present. The Three Kings came to Bethlehem bringing gold and frankincense and myrrh. If they had only brought Truth and Purity and Love there would have been no Christian art and no Christian civilisation.

There is also another subtle meaning in Christmas gifts which was reserved to Mr. Chesterton to discover:—

Christmas presents are a standing protest on behalf of giving as distinct from that mere sharing that modern moralities offer as equivalent or superior. Christmas stands for this superb and sacred paradox: that it is a higher spiritual transaction for Tommy and Molly each to give each other sixpence than for both equally to share a shilling. Christmas is something better than a thing for all; it is a thing for everybody.

ABOLITION OF IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

Mr. E. H. Pickersgill publishes a strong plea for the abolition of our present system of imprisonment for debt, by which 10,000 persons every year are imprisoned on County Court judgment summonses. He says that of the fifteen members of the Select Committee who recently reported on the subject, the majority report was drawn up by six, three of the nine other members being absent. Hence he maintains that the minority report, recommending the total abolition of imprisonment for debt, ought to be made the basis for an Abolition Bill, with which he says the Lord Chancellor is entirely in accord.

THE RHODES SCHOLARS.

Mr. P. A. Vaile having declared that the Rhodes Scholars scheme simply bleeds the countries from which the scholars come by making them no return—students, he suggested, who have come to Oxford, stay in England and do not go back to the Colonies which reared them—Mr. F. J. Wylie replies by saying that of the eighty-three American scholars who have finished their Oxford career only one has remained in England. Of the twenty-four Germans twenty-three have gone back to Germany, while one has accepted a temporary engagement as teacher in America. Of the sixty-six Colonial scholars who have finished their education in this country, fifty-one have either already returned, or are hoping to return within the next few months, to their native Colonies. In addition, five have temporary engagements in this country, and they intend to return home after a few years' English experience.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Angus Hamilton, writing on "The Prospect in Persia," urges the Persian Government to accept without delay the Anglo-Russian proposals, for it is only by means of their help that Persia can expect to rise again from the ashes of the past.

Mr. F. Lawton, writing on Emile Ollivier and the War of 1870, maintains that the accusation of forgery brought against Bismarck in connection with the Benedetti despatch is an idle one. Bismarck, in omitting all reference to what had been accorded, and in stating the refusal in terms as disagreeably laconic as possible, intended not to deceive but to insult. It was a challenge to fight, which France at once accepted.

Professor H. H. Turner has an article in which he says that recent discoveries made in the heavens reveal the existence of flocks of stars, which appear to migrate about the sky just as birds do about the earth.

THE AMERICAN WORLD'S WORK.

THE December number of the American edition of the *World's Work* is full of the thrill and rush of American energy. It is progress, progress, all along the line. Several glimpses have been given elsewhere of the editorial interpretation of the march of events, wherein a social revolution in England is counted as a certainty.

Mr. J. J. Hill describes the development of railways from Minnesota to the sea. Mr. J. F. Carr tells of a democratic school in Indiana where boys are trained to do things and to be men rather than simply to get ready for college. The author of "How I Got Well" describes "The Land-of-the-Well-Country," a circle including West Colorado, New Mexico, and parts of Arizona, the Promised Land of the Health-seeker. In this region it is estimated that there are fifty thousand tubercular invalids. Alexander Irvine tells how humanity is being renovated from the bottom up, as illustrated by the effects of his evangelism on the battered hulks of the Bowery. Mr. N. O. Nelson begins to tell the story of his business life—how he came to believe in profit-sharing, and has developed it in a business which has grown by this means from nothing to three million dollars a year. There are admirable page portraits of Mr. Lloyd George; Dr. Charles W. Stiles, the discoverer of the hookworm; Dr. George Washburn, the pioneer of American education in Constantinople; the late Prince Ito, Baron Shibusawa, and others.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

SEVERAL of the chief articles have been noticed elsewhere. Prince Kropotkin traces the evolution of Darwin's ideas in his letters, and shows how Darwin—

gradually came, in an indirect way, to attribute less and less value to the *individual* struggle inside the species, and to recognise more significance for the *associated* struggle against environment; and next we shall have to see how the mass of experimental researches made within the last twenty-five years about the influence of surroundings upon the forms of plants and animals has modified opinion in favour of the direct action of environment, which lays much less stress on struggle for life as a species-producing agency than is required by the theory of Natural Selection.

A SUCCESSFUL LABOUR COLONY.

Miss Edith Sellers describes the Self-supporting Penal Labour Colony provided by the Canton of Berne at Witzwil, in a paper marked by Miss Sellers' usual command of fact and vivid narrative :—

The experience of Witzwil certainly proves that penal labour colonies, far from being expensive luxuries, are the cheapest of all institutions. It proves, indeed, that, if worked skilfully and economically, by a director who is an expert in the business, they need not cost anyone a penny; nay, that they may even make a few pennies for those to whom they belong. Thus, worthless loafers may be turned, so far as in them lies, into decent working men, without the process entailing on the ratepayers any expense whatever. This being the case, the sooner we have penal colonies here in England the better, surely.

TWO NEW POETS.

Mr. Stephen Gwynn describes the poetry of two writers, who, unlike in everything else, are alike in this, that "to capture poetry they have dragged their way through briars"—Mr. James Stephens, who is still in the making, and Mr. W. H. Davies, whose "Autobiography of a Tramp" shows out of what a quarry of varied life he hewed his poetry :—

It is for the sake of that elemental joy, like the joy of the earth over rain, or of the dam licking her new-born cub, which is the poet's deepest attribute and which I find in many of his poems, that I should always return to Mr. Davies; it is the lack of it that might keep me away from Mr. Stephens. The ultimate and crowning need in the making of a poet is a wise heart.

INDIAN POLITICS AND ART.

Sir Bampfylde Fuller writes hotly on the Indian Responsibilities of Liberal Politicians in a spirit which is indicated by an incident he mentions, that on the morning on which his resignation of his Lieutenant-Governorship in Eastern Bengal was announced a Mahomedan gentleman exclaimed, "The British Government has cut its own throat."

Mr. Percy Brown, Curator of the Government Art Gallery, Calcutta, discusses the Mogul School of Painting, but says that the artistic horizon of the West, having been widened so as to include Japan and India, has also appeared within the field of æsthetic vision. He mentions the somewhat pathetic fact that "the brocade weavers in the bazaars of Benares are to be seen copying, in threads of finest silk and purest gold, English kitchen wallpapers marked 2½d. a yard!"

ITO—JAPAN INCARNATE.

Sir Francis Piggott, writing on the Ito Legend, lays stress on the resolute endeavour made by the deceased statesman to consolidate Korea. He thus epitomises his character :—

Ito was Japan incarnate; in his persistent striving to attain the ideal which the men of his country in the ages past have created; in his observance of those knightly traditions which the generations of to-day obey; in meeting obstacles face to face, in that fearless plucking of the nettles of danger which turns them into means of safety; and, above all, in his loyal devotion to the throne, he rendered unconscious obedience to the law which has made these things instinctive to the nation, and has set the footsteps of its children on the perfect way.

OTHER ARTICLES.

André Beaunier writes in French on Contemporary French Literature, the prospects of which do not strike him as reassuring. It is not decadent, but he is not sure that it is not on the way to *barbaric formidable*.

Miss Viola Tree discusses the Blue-book on the Censorship of Stage Plays, which she thinks marks a step towards the ideal of "no Censorship."

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

THE January issue might be called a Water number. The chief articles are mostly concerned with the Water Question, which the development of the turbine has made one of the burning questions of the modern world. The water powers of the South are considered by Mr. H. A. Pressey, where water powers which for generations have remained idle are now being utilised. A picture is given of the Great Falls of the Potomac, seventy-four feet in depth, within sixteen miles from Washington. Already he reports the rapid growth of a network of transmission lines with the prospect of a consolidation into water trusts, and urges Governmental control. New York's Conservation of Water Resources is described, with the work of the Water Commission. This Commission recommended the construction of reservoirs to be owned perpetually by the State, and the supply to be under State control. The water powers of New York State have already reached 800,000 horse power, and New York is in the forefront of the States in the saving of these most important natural resources. "The Water Power Sites on the Public Domain" are described by the Hon. Richard A. Ballinger, urging that the control of water power should be kept in the hands of the Federal Government. There is a beautifully illustrated paper by Ernest Knaufft on Art Activities in the United States, with beautiful illustrations of museums and art galleries in the leading cities.

Mr. F. A. Ogg discusses Russia's financial condition, which, he says, is quite unique. For a century and a half she has never been other than a debtor nation. Her fiscal system has been threatened by frequent political and economic disorders, yet her credit is still unimpaired. The resources of the nation as a whole are steadily increasing.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE *Contemporary Review* for January opens with an article by Mr. E. T. Cook, on "The Issue and the Record," followed by an article by "R. F.," entitled "Fifty Years of Social Progress," which is an analysis of the Local Government Report of Public Health and Social Conditions. There is another article dealing with the General Election by Lord Welby, entitled "The Budget and British Capital." These are all noticed under the articles entitled "The Issue before the Election."

THE RAISON D'ÊTRE OF RANCHI COLLEGE.

Sir Andrew Fraser, in an article entitled "The Higher Education of India," explains why he took so much pains to found the new college for higher education in the hill country of Ranchi :—

What we aimed at was to have a college in a first-class climate, a popular resort, to which men of the upper and middle classes might send their sons for a thoroughly sound education. What the Indian gentlemen of Bengal seemed to desire was a college in which students of all religions and classes and races might meet together with, at the same time, separate hostels in which they might live the home life to which they were ordinarily accustomed. Hindus dwelling in the same hostel with Hindus, Mohammedans with Mohammedans, Christians with Christians, zamindars and people of the same classes living together as far as they chose, and others, who were not able to afford the same advantages, paying less and living in a more simple way, yet all attending the one college and claiming the same *Alma Mater*.

RUDOLF EUCKEN AND ST. PAUL.

Mr. Richard Roberts devotes ten pages to an exposition of the philosophy of Rudolf Eucken, whose works are the most widely current philosophical writings of the present day in Germany. He maintains that Eucken has practically revived the monism of St. Paul. He says :—

Paul's monism, like Eucken's, is a monism which entails movement and progress. A progressive self-realisation through a living and growing relationship with the Living Universal Spirit, a progressive world-redemption through our God-impelled and God-inspired labour in and upon it—this is the sum of Eucken's message to our time. Just as his great countryman, Luther, re-discovered for his day a great forgotten Pauline principle, so Eucken seems to be re-stating for this age those aspects of Paul's teaching, of which it has by reason of many things become unmindful.

CANADA AND TARIFF REFORM.

Mr. J. J. Harpell takes a very rosy view as to the chances of Free Trade in the British Colonies and the United States. He says :—

A careful review of conditions in America will convince anyone that the policy of a protective tariff has reached its limit there, and that from now on both the United States and Canada must retrace their steps in the direction of Free Trade. On the whole, it would seem that, if the people of Great Britain have any serious intention of adopting a protective tariff, they will be entering upon that course at a time when other countries are being forced to abandon it. Furthermore, they will be losing the advantage which their Free Trade position would give them during the period when their competitors are settling their tariff wars and getting back to a position of Free Trade.

In his *chronique* of Foreign Affairs Dr. Dillon confines himself entirely to telling the story of the movement in favour of uniting Crete and Greece from the point of view of the Cretans. He maintains that the four Powers had as much to do with promoting the movement towards union as the Cretans, and he is authorised by the Cretans to say plainly and forcibly that the Turkish offer will never be accepted and ought never to have been made.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

BESIDES the articles mentioned elsewhere, there is much that is challenging and stimulating.

Mr. J. Castell Hopkins discusses the Relations of Canada and Germany, and refers to the significance of the German vote in Canada as being due to character rather than numbers. He enlarges on the resolute manner in which the late Unionist Government defended Canada and other parts of the Empire from the tariff war threatened by Germany.

Mr. Frank Fox extols the introduction of Universal Training for Military Service in Australia.

Mr. Maurice Low anticipates that when Mr. Roosevelt returns home there will be a breach in the friendly relations that have hitherto prevailed between him and President Taft. The Radicals will rally to Mr. Roosevelt, and the Conservatives to Mr. Taft.

"*Is* Optimism Justifiable?" is a question which Mr. G. Scott-Elliot answers by saying :—

The chief teaching of history, from the evolution standpoint, seems to be the fact that virtue, by which we mean a manly kind of morality, always decides the result in any struggle for survival between nations or nationalities. If this deduction is correct, optimism is certainly justifiable.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

DR. HILL-CLIMO calls attention to the suggestive coincidence of the remarkable decrease in the birth-rate, attributed by the Registrar-General to the "deliberate restriction of child-bearing," and the remarkable increase in mortality from diseases of the heart. In these diseases, the ratio of increase for females is 48 per cent. in excess of that for males. He also calls attention to the large proportion of deaths of infants under one year from immaturity.

"Flavus Secundus" writes savagely about "Lying to Power (or Perdition?)". Once, he confessed, he would rather be governed by the peerage than by a single Chamber elected by unmitigated Demos. But "after the ignoble exhibition of the petty personal greed of the well-provided classes in general, and of the hereditary nobility in particular," he feels that the only road to true government lies "through the sloughs and swamps of utter democracy."

J. F. Scheltema writes on the rich coalfields in Sumatra in a singularly fertile location on the commerce routes of the world, but hitherto badly mismanaged by the Dutch Government.

Mr. H. O. S. Wright's description of Russian Village Life, and Miss Elizabeth Saville's Indictment of the Inhumanity of Fashionable Womanhood have been separately noticed.

Mr. J. Howard Spalding rebuts the charge of insanity preferred against Swedenborg.

THE JUBILEE OF THE CORNHILL.

I PRESENT my heartiest congratulations and good wishes to the proprietors and editor of the *Cornhill Magazine*, who have celebrated the Jubilee of that excellent periodical in fitting style by issuing a handsome double number this month. The *Cornhill* is, as it has been from the first, one of the most famous of our magazines. In this Jubilee number we have the whole story of its eventful fifty years told from start to finish—from the first inception of the idea by Mr. George Smith down to the production of the present record number. The usual contents of the magazine are not interfered with. But there is a mass of special material, which appropriately opens with "The First Editor: and the Founder," by Lady Ritchie, with portraits of her father and Mr. George Smith, and facsimiles of two letters from Thackeray to Smith; and concludes with an "Envoi" from Mrs. George Smith. It contains one poem by Mr. Thomas Hardy, "An Impromptu to the Editor"; and another by Mr. A. D. Godley, "Middle Age to—Youth." Mr. E. T. Cook writes on "The Jubilee of the *Cornhill*" (with the facsimile of a proof corrected by Thackeray); Mr. Arthur C. Benson on "Essays at Large"; Mr. W. E. Norris on "Leslie Stephen, Editor"; and Mr. Stanley Weyman on "James Payn, Editor" (with a facsimile letter); while Dr. W. H. Fitchett tells "How I came to know the *Cornhill*." This material gives in effect the history of the magazine's career for the fifty years of its existence, recounted by those who are best qualified to tell the story.

The *Cornhill* is as vigorous as ever, and in 1960 those of us who may still be alive will no doubt have the good luck to read and enjoy a centenary number. It may be twice as large as this, but it could not be twice as good.

THE GOOD SHIP AND ITS CAPTAIN.

The *Book Monthly* for December, writing on the Jubilee of the *Cornhill Magazine*, describes the first number issued in January, 1860. Among other things it contained an inaugural ode addressed to the author of "Vanity Fair," by Father Prout. The *Cornhill* was really founded in order to offer the public a serial novel by Thackeray, "Lovell the Widower," for each instalment of which the author received £350. His editorial salary, which was to have been at the rate of £1,000 a year, was doubled when the first number jumped into a circulation of 120,000 copies. He also received twelve guineas a page for his "Roundabout Papers." He illustrated "Lovell the Widower" himself. Among the other illustrators were Millais, Leighton, Richard Doyle, Fred Walker, and Du Maurier. Happy was the author or the artist who had the opportunity of signing on with the captain of the ship *Cornhill*. Mr. George Smith gave George Eliot £10,000 for her "Romola," and lost money on it. Tennyson was offered £5,000 for a poem of the length of "The Idylls of the King," but did not accept the offer, though "Tithonus" appeared in the second number. Anthony Trollope received £1,000 for his clerical story, "Framley Parsonage," and £2,800 for his "Claverings."

The East and the West.

ANYONE who wishes to see with what frankness, faithfulness, and openness of mind missionary problems may be discussed, should turn to the *East and the West*. Education bulks largely, both in respect of the Far East and of the Bantus in South Africa. Rev. E. Greaves insists that India should not be pressed into Western ecclesiastical methods, but left to develop her own native Church in her own way. Rev. G. W. Rawlings sees in the growth of Agnosticism in Japan as regards the traditional faith a preparation for Christianity. Rev. R. F. Callaway urges that while White and Black should in South Africa maintain religious fellowship, this need not extend to social fellowship. The editor's searching appeal for a better representation in the character of the missionary of the Oriental characteristics of Christ is mentioned elsewhere.

Cassier's.

Cassier's for December is a very interesting number. It is not all in the air, but is very largely concerned with affairs of aërial transit. Mr. J. O. Newman declares that the Frankfort Aëronautical Exhibition will contain the latest developments in aërial flight and warfare. Mr. S. H. Bunnell treats of the Cableway and its Uses, recommending it specially for conveying appliances for construction works. Mr. Supplee's account of the Aëroplane has been separately noticed. There are other articles of interest even for the general reader.

Badminton Magazine.

THE most interesting paper in *Badminton* for January is a sketch by Mr. W. L. Puxley on his "Tour Among the Head-Waters of the Amazon." This almost unknown region is lighted up both by his pen and his camera. The number opens with a sketch of King Edward as patron of the racecourse.

THE rotary snow-plough at work clearing a railway pass in the Rocky Mountains is very vividly described with pen and camera by Frederic Hamilton in the *World's Work*. The plough literally screws its way through the drift, shooting the snow it dislodges in a torrent to one side.

THE Dead Sea was visited last March by Dr. E. Huntington, who sailed on its bosom in a canvas boat. His description, which is both graphic and scientific, and is made more attractive by aid of the camera, appears in *Harper's*. Another article of importance is that by Mr. C. W. Furlong, descriptive of his travels in Terra del Fuego. He heads it, "The Vanishing People of the Land of Fire."

DEUTSCHE REVUE.

GENERAL VON DER BOECK, one of Germany's most brilliant infantry commanders, contributes a striking article to the *Deutsche Revue* bearing on the alleged critical condition of affairs in the Far East. It is not General Boeck's opinion that any immediate outbreak of hostilities between Russia and Japan need be feared, but in view of the persistent preparations of both Powers, the fact that they are steadily increasing their land armaments, and the still graver fact that the political situation is gradually assuming a darker complexion, he is inclined to think that the Peace of Portsmouth cannot last beyond the close of the year 1912.

RUSSIA GETTING READY FOR WAR.

The troops which Russia possessed in the Far East at the close of the war have been largely strengthened, so that at the present time they cannot be short of a peace footing of 200,000 men, a force which, were war to break out, could easily and speedily be raised to 300,000 without drawing a single soldier from European Russia.

Another important fact noted by General Boeck is the strengthening of the defences of Vlădivostok, which has been raised to the rank of a first-class fortress. But the weightiest item in the development of Russian power in the Far East will be, according to Boeck, the decision to build the Amur railway. The Third Duma, in view of the importance of this railway, has unhesitatingly voted the necessary funds. The Russian Government's decision to double the track of the Siberian line is a step the gravity of which cannot be overrated.

JAPAN ALSO PREPARING.

Japan freed for the present from maritime cares is similarly engaged in strengthening her position on land. The thirteen divisions of her army when war broke out have been raised to nineteen, so that at the present moment her army on a war footing would consist of 550,000 and 120,000 horses. And as there is no lack of men in the Mikado's empire General Boeck believes that were war now to be declared a million Japanese soldiers could take the field within a few weeks.

WHAT ABOUT CHINA?

A most important factor in the altering circumstances is the renaissance of the Chinese military power. Japanese instructors swarm in China, and are swiftly building up a mighty military engine as their ally. The original plan of the Chinese Government was to form thirty-six divisions, each of 10,000 men, and to have this entire force ready to take the field before the year 1922, but it is perfectly evident from the reports which have filtered through to Europe that this huge army will be ready by 1912, or ten years earlier than was originally intended.

General Boeck is inclined to believe from the reports of German officers who have recently visited China that in 1912 the Chinese will possess a well-equipped army of half a million men, the greater part armed with modern weapons, and with a discipline and organisation infinitely superior to anything which China has hitherto produced. Boeck thinks that Japan's policy of Asia for the Asiatics, with Japan at the head of a coalition of the yellow races, will then be within measureable distance of realisation. He regards the situation as one of extreme seriousness, and asserts that M. Stolypin, the Russian Premier, and General Suchomlinoff, the Minister of War, view it in a most pessimistic light.

PEARSON'S MAGAZINE.

Pearson's begins with the thirty-one Dukes, their photographs and their fortunes, describes what it calls the greatest popular pastime, rink-skating, showing how in Berlin, on an asphalt-paved street, a "crocodile" of roller-skaters greatly quicken their speed of movement, and is, as usual, great in fiction and illustration.

For good or evil, the Dukes of Great Britain and Ireland have, since the Budget was introduced, come into a fiercer light than any that beats upon a throne. For men of high character and noble record so crucial an inspection would only result in deepened national respect and strengthened social influence. Alas! however, the searchlight threatens to have the opposite effect.

Here is *Pearson's*, for example, opening its January number with photographs and brief sketches of the thirty-one holders of the title of Duke. The second page tells us that "their tremendous landed estates amount in the aggregate to at least four million acres." With appetite whetted by their huge proprietorship in the land of the nation, we go on to find that of the tremendous estates that belong to the Dukedom of Fife "in some cases it must be admitted calm appropriation of common lands played its part." The Duke owns 250,000 acres.

Of the Duke of Westminster we are told that when in thirty years' time the whole of the property on his West-end estates reverts to him the value will probably exceed one million sterling per annum.

No fewer than four of the dukedoms are the products of the diversified adulteries of Charles II. The unspeakable monarch was father, by one of his mistresses, to the first Duke of Richmond and Gordon, by another to the first Duke of St. Albans, by a third to the first Duke of Grafton, and by a fourth to the first Duke of Buccleuch. As a start, for members of the hereditary Chamber, these origins are not very promising.

The Case for the Labour Party: A Handbook of Facts and Figures for Workers (Garden City Press, 4d.). Many are in doubt as to what the organised worker desires. This booklet indicates in outline the programme which must be realised before this new force in politics is satisfied.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

THE *North American Review* varies greatly from month to month. Sometimes it is three parts of it devoted exclusively to American topics. Then, as if to keep the balance even, its pages contain articles which are as interesting to Europeans as to Americans. The December number is one of the latter sort. The opening article, "Prosperity with Justice," is American, but almost all the others deal with subjects of cosmopolitan interest.

THE CRISIS IN GREECE.

Dr. Dillon, who has been sojourning in Athens, gives the clearest account of the Greek revolution—for such it may be called—that has yet seen the light of day. His sympathy is entirely with the Army, whose revolt, he thinks, was more than justified by the scandalous behaviour of the Crown Prince when Commander-in-Chief. Dr. Dillon says :—

Prince Constantine's acts were superlatively arbitrary and unjust. The very best officers, including Smolensky, Tsorbas and Konstantinidi, were decently or indecently buried. Boon companions of the pleasure-hunting princes were promoted over their heads for accomplishments which needed orgies, not military manœuvres, as their proper setting. Money was spent for everything but the nation's defences.

The result was fatal. Greece was helpless at the moment of destiny, and her chances of obtaining Crete have now become nil.

CANADA IN TIME OF WAR.

Mr. Watson Griffen, a Conservative Canadian journalist, writes strongly in favour of a Canadian Navy. He is not of Sir W. Laurier's opinion that Canada would in time of war opt to remain neutral. He says :—

There is little doubt that if Britain were actually at war with the populous, wealthy and well-organised German Empire or any other great Power, the whole Canadian people, regardless of origin and language, would support the British cause, but even if the French-Canadian section of the population did offer opposition the English-speaking majority, divided politically in time of peace, would be united in time of war.

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

Mr. Sydney Brooks, that most indefatigable of writers, takes up the cudgels for British rule in India against some Americans who appear to have made a collective protest against President Roosevelt's eulogy of the British raj. He says :—

They appear entirely unaware of the elementary facts that the British, and the British alone, voice, however imperfectly, the sentiments and guard, however inadequately, the interests of the dumb, toiling masses; that they and they alone rise calmly above the distracting animosities and clashing rivalries of race, creed and caste, and work and govern solely for the common good; that they alone, to the best of their abilities, represent justice, liberty and equal treatment for all, and protect at once the Hindu from the Mohammedan, and the Mohammedan from the Hindu, and the peasant from the landlord.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

Dr. Clark, of the Christian Endeavour Union, writes brightly and well on the distinctive characteristics of the South American Republics, all of which he recently visited on one of his apostolic missionary tours. He says :—

Not only is it true that the east and the west coasts of South America have an individuality of their own, but each republic has its own traditions, its own problems, its own peculiarities, and its own peculiar patriotism which considers no flag quite so precious as that which floats over its own soil, poor and insignificant as the republic may seem in the eyes of the rest of the world. Any one of them, even the weakest and poorest, would to-day fight to the bitter end and die in the last ditch rather than haul down its own beloved flag or yield allegiance to any other nation.

THE DOCTORS AND THE OSTEOPATHS.

Mrs. Elizabeth Bisland, in a bright little paper on the tyranny of the pill, draws an entertaining parallel between the Holy Inquisition and the efforts made by the Medical Trades Union to crush out all heretical healers. She says :—

The bitterest fight of all has been made against the osteopaths, who, in spite of the road having been contested inch by inch, have induced more than half the States to legalise their practice, to examine them through the same State Medical Boards which examine the regular physicians ere permitting them to practise, and to place osteopaths before the law in an equal position with the "regular" school. This has been dictated to the legislators, in spite of the furious opposition of the doctors, by the public, convinced by demonstration of the value of this new therapy. Yet the regular physicians still decline to recognise the osteopaths, refuse to permit them to practise in any hospital, or to call any trained nurse who attends an osteopathic patient, in spite of which the schools of this new system cannot train its practitioners rapidly enough to supply the demand.

AMERICAN SECURITIES IN FRANCE.

Mr. F. D. Pavey, who has recently investigated the obstacles which impede the sale of American securities in France, says that the French save £80,000,000 a year and would gladly invest a quarter of this sum in American securities :—

It is the opinion of men well informed upon the subject that the French market would absorb American securities to the amount of 100,000,000 dollars a year if American bankers and corporations would comply with the requirements of the French law in regard to the sale of foreign securities in France, and if the form and character of the securities were made to conform to the ideas and customs of French bankers and investors.

The Twentieth Century Magazine.

ALL social reformers in Europe who are interested in the reform movement in the United States should subscribe to the *Twentieth Century Magazine*, edited by Mr. B. O. Flower, formerly of the *Arena*, which is published at Boston, U.S.A. It is a comprehensive *résumé*, month by month, of the progress of the more important political, economic, and social reform movements in the United States of America. The editor is an enthusiastic admirer of Mr. Lloyd George and his Budget. He says :—

The Liberal Ministry, with its epoch-marking Budget and under the brilliant leadership of Lloyd George, is getting nearer to fundamental economic principles than any dominant political administration in any leading nation in the history of the past century. It is putting questions to the conscience of civilisation the mere raising of which, coming from the Chancellor of the Exchequer and other leading statesmen, is liable to inaugurate revolutionary changes throughout all Anglo-Saxon lands.

THE ITALIAN MAGAZINES.

ITALY, as well as ourselves, seems to be suffering from a German scare, and apparently regards the influx of German tourists to parts of the peninsula as a positive danger to Italian nationality, and as tending to destroy the purity of the language. A sensible article in the *Rassegna Nazionale* by A. Stromboli derides these dangers, and suggests that the acceptance of Esperanto as a medium of international and commercial intercourse would be a convenience in itself and would prove a safeguard to national susceptibilities. No foreign tongue would then enjoy a privileged position, and there would be far less danger of foreign words becoming incorporated into the language. The Duke of Gualtieri defends the action of his brother Dukes in the House of Lords in throwing out the Budget on the curious ground that as the House of Commons is mainly elected by people who pay no taxes, it has no inherent right to impose taxes on those who do pay them. Clearly the Duke has neither realised that we have a property qualification nor that many of the necessaries of life are taxed for revenue purposes. Colonel Lugli-Grisanti contributes an enthusiastic account of the beauties of Scottish scenery—he even admires Glasgow!

Emporium publishes illustrations of some of the most precious works of art in the Treasury of St. Peter's, which, thanks to Cardinal Rampolla, has now been admirably re-arranged in a spacious hall, and thrown open to the public. Arturo Jahn Rusconi deplores the mania for destruction with which the present municipality of Rome is infected, and gives illustrations of the many fine old palaces and picturesque streets which it is proposed to destroy in Rome in order to construct hideous new avenues. Happily some of the worst acts of vandalism proposed have been abandoned in response to the vigorous protests of artists and archæologists.

Another aspect of the same problem is treated by P. Picca in the *Nuova Antologia*. He points out that the housing problem in Rome, now so acute, is very far from being a new one, for owing to the cosmopolitan character of Papal Rome and the periodic influx of pilgrims, house accommodation has repeatedly been deficient, so that Popes have passed a series of regulations mainly intended to protect the tenant from the rapacity of landlords and to encourage suburban building. The moral is that special legislation is equally needed to-day. The editor, Maggiorino Ferraris, rejoices greatly over the fact that the Sonnino Ministry is credited with the intention of founding a national credit bank for the development of all forms of co-operative enterprise, both agricultural and industrial. M. Ferraris has long preached the doctrine that the economic salvation of Italy is to be found in the organisation of small industries on a co-operative basis.

An excellent number of the *Rassegna Contemporanea* contains a lengthy analysis of the national finances by the distinguished economist, L. Wollemborg, and an appeal, by the deputy L. Luzzatti, to the Italian Chamber to cast aside trivial discussions and take their share in those great constitutional problems which other nations are attempting to solve, such as proportional representation, the relations between Church and State, the financial privileges of representative Chambers, etc. A. J. Rusconi writes charmingly on the Nativity in early Christian art, and A. Bistolfi discourses in lyrical strains on the æsthetic sense in woman, whom he admits to be "instinctively and in her intimate human essence more artistic than man."

Vita Femminile Italiana continues to be admirably edited and to fight the battle of feminine emancipation. Articles in the December number deal with the success of women's suffrage in New Zealand, with higher education, and with the urgent need for Italian girls having greater freedom in the choice of their husbands.

THE SPANISH REVIEWS.

IN *Nuestro Tiempo* W. E. Retana publishes another instalment of his Notes on the Theatre in the Philippines. In July, 1844, Don Narciso Claveria arrived in Manilla to take up his position as Governor of the Archipelago; at the end of October in the same year there was formed, under his patronage, a "Recreation Society," and in the following month a performance was given of the comedy "Marcela," acted by amateurs, as there were no professional players in Manilla. The Spaniards who were exiled to the island for political reasons in 1848 did much to accelerate the progress of the histrionic art in the Philippines. Another article in the same review tells us of the new ideas which are springing up in Catalonia. Barcelona is growing continually; it is losing its character as a mere capital of a province and is partaking of cosmopolitanism. Its ideas and ideals are radiating into the rural districts, and a New Catalonia is being evolved. Instead of holding itself aloof, as it has hitherto done, from the sister provinces, with which it should have been united by ties of relationship and suffering, it is looking with kindly eyes towards them, and is making friends.

La Lectura contains a long essay on the works and work of Lombroso. Professor Adolfo Posada gives some more details about the condition of Lyons since the abolition of the tax on food-stuffs taken into the city; he says that several large cities have during the past thirty-nine years abolished the octroi system, with advantage to themselves. Sr. Mariano Marfil deals with the Morocco question, and insists that Spain must assert herself and undertake her own special business alone, not permitting others to take part through her own sheer indolence, as has been the case in Morocco. By all means build up the homeland, educating the people and doing whatever may be necessary to make Spain a great nation, but other matters outside her own immediate territory must not be forgotten; postpone, where it is possible

to do so, until Spaniards are in a better position to undertake the task, but do not neglect and allow others to come in and help!

España Moderna contains an article on the Alhambra of Granada. From various documents we glean the information that the Alhambra was divided into different groups of buildings which after the Conquest (probably prior to it) had their respective names and were called Cuarto de los Leones, Cuarto de Comares, and Cuarto Dorado. It is well known that the first-mentioned was the harem; the second group contained the Throne Room, where great receptions took place and ambassadors had interviews. In the Cuarto Dorado there were large public rooms, such as council chambers and the like. The writer gives an account of the different decorations and paintings in the rooms, all of which seem to have been of a most elaborate and artistic style and done by the greatest artists of the day. But the contribution which will attract most readers is that on Monserrat, which is noticed on another page.

THE DUTCH REVIEWS.

Vragen des Tijds opens with a long account of the history of the preparation of a national Dictionary of the Dutch Language. The first part of this great work appeared in September, 1864, and seemingly it will be several years yet before it is completed. There have been many editors during that period; they are paid so much for every part which they produce, and the writer of the article thinks that an editor cannot get through more than a part and a half each year, in which case the remuneration is not sufficient, and is the reason why these learned gentlemen relinquish the post when the position of professor is offered. The second article in this review deals with what we should call the Adulteration of Foods Act. It shows how the different municipalities attend to this public duty, the different standards adopted by them regarding the purity of milk, margarine, and other food-stuffs, with figures of percentages in this or that district. Mineral waters, chocolate cigars (with zinc in the "ash") are also mentioned. The third of the usual trio of contributions is concerned with naval estimates, the effective qualities of ships, and similar details. The conditions of the army and navy, and the possibility of foreign aggression, frequently occupy the minds of many Dutchmen.

Religion in the schools comes up for discussion in *Onze Eeuw*. In the Act of 1806 it was laid down that children should be trained in Christian virtue; the law of 1857 said that children of all creeds should be admitted, and, it is claimed, this law has led to the elimination of all religious teaching, to the detriment of the people. Some suggestions are made for bridging the difficulty, all of which will be hard to carry out. In another contribution a very interesting account is given of the way in which charts are prepared by the Topographical Department of the East Indian Colonies. Along the banks of the Goenoeng-Sari Canal one may see lines of houses that remind one of certain streets to be found in Holland: in one of those houses are the offices of the Department, where Dutchmen and natives work industriously at maps and charts of whole colonies or specific parts thereof, railways, rivers, and what not. More than a million of these topographical drawings are now available and are regarded as of very great utility.

Elsevier commences with reproductions of water-colour drawings by M. Kamerlingh-Onnes, in which flowers predominate. One article deals with specimens of the plastic art of the Middle Ages, with illustrations of statues of different centuries. The contribution on French Caricatures of the nineteenth century contains some amusing pictures. In all three cases the text is entertaining.

The Darwin celebration is dealt with in the opening contribution to *De Gids* in the exhaustive manner familiar to readers of this review. The next article is on Ideas of Language, the different ways of speaking and writing the same word, questions of genders and similar philological problems, and in a short article towards the end of the book we have some information concerning the influence of Dutch culture on the Swedish people during the seventeenth century. Dutch actors and others did much to spread culture in the Scandinavian kingdom.

The Motor in Metre.

To *Scribner's* Mr. Percy MacKaye contributes two stanzas "From an Automobile." The first stanza reproduces very cleverly the succession of sights and sounds experienced in a motor ride:—

> Fluid the world flowed under us: the hills,
> Billow on billow of umbrageous green,
> Heaved us, aghast, to fresh horizons, seen
> One rapturous instant, blind with flash of rills
> And silver rising storms and dewy stills
> Of dripping boulders, then the dim ravine
> Drowned us again in leafage, whose serene
> Coverts grew loud with our tumultuous wills.

THE *Young Man* begins the year well. The career of Sir Francis Belsey, Sunday School knight, is sketched. Miss Dora M. Jones describes the home of the Passion Play at Ober Ammergau. Prominence is given to Mr. Frank Harris's re-interpretation of Shakespeare as the original of Hamlet, revealed in all his plays—a gentle yet impulsive nature, but not a hero. Manliness was not his forte.

THE *Lady's Realm* for January contains an American girl's humorous impressions of the Englishman as contrasted with the American. She declares herself in love with both her brothers, uncertain to which to give the palm. Mr. George Buckingham contributes a ludicrous sketch of what would happen if the women of England went out on strike, and declares that if women could hang together like one man even for a single day they could win the vote or anything else they wanted. "The Passing Hour" is very slight. The Character Sketch is of Nicholas of Montenegro, a King of Contrasts.

Topics of the Day in the Periodicals of the Month.

HOME AFFAIRS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL.

Agriculture, Land :
Every Man His Own Landlord, by J. Ellis Barker, "Fortnightly Rev," Jan.

Armies :
Our Fettered Army, by X.F.O., "United Service Mag," Jan.
The Blight of Little Englandism, by C. de Thierry, "United Service Mag," Jan.
The Men in the Territorials, by H. Longhurst. "World's Work," Jan.
Universal Training for Service in Australia, by Frank Fox, "National Rev," Jan.

Ballooning, Aerial Navigation :
Flight in 1909, "World's Work," Jan.
How it feels to fly, by T. S. Baldwin, "World's Work," Jan.

Canals :
A Proposed Mid-Scotland Canal, by the Marquess of Graham, "Nineteenth Cent," Jan.

Children :
Children and the Nation, by Maude Meredith, "Englishwoman," Jan.

Crime :
A Self-Supporting Labour Colony at Witzwil, Switzerland, by Edith Sellers, "Nineteenth Cent," Jan.

Electoral :
What will the Country say to It? "Blackwood," Jan.
The Issue and the Record, by E. T. Cook, "Contemp. Rev," Jan.
The Budget, see Finance.
The House of Lords, see Parliamentary.

Emigration, Immigration :
The Aliens' Board; In the Shadow of the Tower, by Gabriel S. Costa, "Nineteenth Cent," Jan.

Eugenics :
A Healthy Race—Woman's Vocation, by Lieut.-Col. W. Hill-Climo, "Westminster Rev," Jan.

Evolution :
Evolution and Mutual Aid, by Prince Kropotkin, "Nineteenth Cent," Jan.
The Vitalist Doctrine of Life, by Dr. Grasset, "Rev. des Deux Mondes," Dec. 1.

Finance :
The Fiscal Revolution, by Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. "Rev. des Deux Mondes," Dec. 1.
The Budget and British Capital, by Lord Welby, "Contemporary Rev," Jan.
The Dukes and the Poor, by L. de Norvins, "La Revue," Dec. 15.
One Aspect of Protection, by G. S., "Westminster Rev," Jan.
The General Election, see Electoral.
The House of Lords, see Parliamentary.
The Status of the Board of Trade, by Sir E. Fithian, "Financial Rev. of Revs," Jan.

Ireland :
Eyes and No Eyes, by W. S. Lilly, "Fortnightly Rev," Jan.

Labour Problems :
Causes of Unemployment, by P. Hanson, "New Ireland Rev," Jan.
Want of Work and Poverty, by N. M. Tayler, "Westminster Rev," Jan.
A General Strike, by B. C. Molloy, "Nineteenth Cent," Jan.
The Truth about the German Working Man, by T. Good, "World's Work," Jan.

Law :
The Law and the Prophet, by Ignotus, "Westminster Rev," Jan.
Imprisonment for Debt :
Lex on, "Humanitarian," Jan.
Pickersgill, E. H., on, "Fortnightly Rev," Jan.

Navies :
The Naval Policy of the Great Powers, by Vice-Admiral Valois, "Deutsche Rundschau," Dec.
The Blight of Little Englandism, by C. de Thierry, "United Service Mag," Jan.
The Naval Issue, by A. Hurd, "Fortnightly Rev," Jan.
The Nation, the Government, and the Navy, by H. W. Wilson, "National Rev," Jan.
England and the Growth of the German Fleet, by Foreign Naval Officer, "Deutsche Rev," Dec.
Naval Agreement Delusions, by R. E. C. Long, "Fortnightly Rev," Jan.
Anglo-German Relations, see under Germany.
French Naval Reforms, by XXX, "Nouvelle Rev," Dec. 1 and 15.
A Canadian Navy, by W. Griffin, "North Amer. Rev," Dec.

Old-Age Pensions :
The French Senate and Pensions for Workmen, by M. Bellom, "Nouvelle Rev," Dec. 1.
Workmen's Pensions in Other Countries than France, by H. de Larègle, "Correspondant," Dec. 10.

Parliamentary :
The Budget, see Finance.
The General Election, see Electoral
Liberalism and the Future, by Sydney Brooks, "Fortnightly Rev," Jan.
The Constitutional Crisis, by J. A. R. Marriott, "Nineteenth Cent," Jan.
Mr. Chamberlain, the Crisis, and the Call, by Pro Patria, "National Rev," Jan.
The House of Lords, "Correspondant," Dec. 25.

Population Questions :
Depopulation and Infantile Mortality in France and in New York, by Dr. Robert Simon, "Correspondant," Dec. 25.

Race Problems :
The Conflict of Colour, by B. L. Putnam Weale, "World's Work," Dec. and Jan.

Social Questions, Miscellaneous :
What is Socialism? by H. D. Barclay, "Westminster Rev," Jan.
Fifty Years of Social Progress, by R F., "Contemp. Rev," Jan.

Temperance and the Liquor Traffic :
Inebriety and Parenthood, by Dr. J. Johnston, "Englishwoman," Jan.

Theatres and the Drama :
The Censorship of Stage Plays, by Viola Tree, "Nineteenth Cent," Jan.

Women :
The Women's Suffrage Question, by Mrs. Henry Fawcett, "Englishwoman," Dec.
The Year's Progress of the Women's Suffrage Movement, by Clementina Black, "Englishwoman," Jan.

COLONIAL AND FOREIGN

Peace Movement :
- Imperialism, Continentalism, Internationalism, by H. Pesch, "Stimmen aus Maria-Laach," Jan.
- French Universities and Internationalism, by P. N. Chilot, "La Revue," Dec. 15.
- A World State and the Peace Problem, "Konservative Monatsschrift," Dec.
- The Peace Idea and the Neutralisation of European Frontiers, by Ambassador Raschdau, "Deutsche Rev," Dec.
- The Laws of War, Peace, and Armaments, by Prof. L. von Bar, "Deutsche Rev," Dec.

Africa :
- France and Morocco, "Questions Diplomatiques," Dec. 1.
- South African Union, by Capt. E. de Renty, "Questions Diplomatiques," Dec. 1.
- Muddling Through in British East Africa, by H. W. Buckland, "Empire Rev," Jan.

Australia :
- The Senate of the Australian Commonwealth, by F. A. W. Gisborne, "Empire Rev," Jan.

Belgium :
- Belgium and the New *Régime*, "Amer. Rev. of Revs," Jan.
- Belgium's New Ruler, by René Feibelmann, "National Rev," Jan.
- The Transformation of the Belgian Majority, by M. Sauvé, "Questions Diplomatiques," Dec. 16.
- The Spanish Belgium of the North, by G. Harry, "Grande Rev," Dec. 25.

Canada :
- Canada and Tariff Reform, by J. J. Harpell, "Contemp. Rev," Jan.
- A Canadian Navy, by W. Griffin, "North Amer. Rev," Dec.
- Canada and Germany, by J. Castell Hopkins, "National Rev," Jan.

China :
- China's Progress, by E. H. Parker, "Asiatic Qrly," Jan.
- A Parliament for China, by P. S. Reinsch, "Atlantic Mthly," Dec.

France :
- National Anxiety, by Victor Bérard, "Rev. de Paris," Dec. 15.
- Social Democracy and the Elections, by L. Parsons, "Grande Rev," Dec. 10.
- The Evolution of the Socialist Party, by J. B. Séverac, "Grande Rev," Dec. 25.
- Sale of American Securities in France, by F. D. Pavey, "North Amer. Rev," Dec.
- The Question of Black Troops in the Colonies, by C. Humbert, "Grande Rev," Dec. 10.

Germany :
- The New Germany, by R. Cronau, "McClure," Dec.
- Monarchical Socialism, by Elmer Roberts, "Scribner," Jan.
- The Development of Germany, "Blackwood," Jan.
- Anglo-German Relations :
  - Ahlefeld, Vice-Adm. Von, on, "Deutsche Rev," Dec.
  - Schmitz, O. A. H., on, "Nord und Süd," Dec. 1.
  - Tuemann, C., on, "Nineteenth Cent," Jan.
- Leibnitz and the Present German Peril, by J. Hannon, "New Ireland Rev," Jan.
- About German Spies, by Charles Lowe, "Contemp. Rev," Jan.
- The Landing of the Germans in England, "Rev. de Paris," Dec. 1.
- Canada and Germany, by J. Castell Hopkins, "National Rev," Jan.

India :
- Indian Responsibilities of Liberal Politicians, by Sir Bampfylde Fuller, "Nineteenth Cent," Jan.
- American Opinion and British Rule in India, by Sydney Brooks, "North Amer. Rev," Dec.
- Land Revenue of India, "Asiatic Qrly," Jan.
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LEOPOLD OF THE CONGO.

SOME REMINISCENCES BY W. T. STEAD.

THE late King Leopold was the first king whom I ever interviewed. It was in 1884 that I was despatched on a semi-demi-officious mission to Brussels to sound the King as to whether he would consent to take over the Soudan up to Khartoum. The circumstances which led to my being entrusted with this extraordinary private mission were as follows.

I.—HIS RELATIONS WITH GENERAL GORDON.

It was just before General Gordon, who was holding Khartoum against the Mahdi, was cut off from all communication with the outer world. The British Government — which for practical purposes was Lord Cromer—had ruined every chance Gordon ever had of extricating the garrisons from the Soudan. He had been checkmated by Lord Cromer from first to last. His bold and brilliant design of riding alone into the Mahdi's camp had been stopped by Lord Cromer. His next proposal to bring up Zebehr had been opposed by Lord Cromer until all chance of its success had been destroyed. His despairing appeal for the despatch of some British troops to hold Berber was also refused by the sluggish-minded Proconsul, without whose consent Mr. Gladstone would do nothing in the Soudan. Gordon was in a trap, the door to which was locked and double locked by Lord Cromer. The position was desperate.

The late King.

This was the last portrait taken of the late King. It was made after he had cut his beard square.

AT KHARTOUM IN 1884.

The hopelessness of General Gordon's position lay in the fact that he was peremptorily forbidden to do anything but evacuate the country. But it was impossible to bring away the garrisons unless he could establish some kind of a Government which would protect the people whom he was instructed to deprive of their former defenders. He had been denied permission to make an amicable arrangement with the Mahdi; he had been refused permission to establish Zebehr at the head of a Government that could hold its own against the Mahdi. Only one alternative seemed to remain. If General Gordon could be authorised to establish his own Government in the Soudan as a permanency the tribes might have rallied round him, and his supreme military and administrative genius might have enabled him to do in the Soudan what Rajah Brooke had achieved in Sarawak, in Borneo. Hence arose a demand in England that General Gordon should be at least allowed a free hand to "Sarawak the Soudan."

HIS LAST CHANCE.

But the Gladstone Government recoiled from taking this responsibility. They had ever the fear of Lord Cromer before their eyes, and it seemed preferable to leave Gordon to his fate and let the garrisons be speared than to give him the last fighting chance he had for success. In this desperate strait the idea occurred to some friends of Gordon in the Government that if the King of the Belgians could be induced by a bold stroke to annex the Soudan to the Congo and instruct Gordon to found a permanent administration in his name on the Upper Nile, Gordon would gain the indispensable foundation of security of tenure without which no tribe could be expected to rally to his side. It was the forlornest of forlorn hopes. The wire might be cut before the message could be got through. But in that terrible time it seemed the only chance left, and I was sent to Brussels to sound the King on the subject, with instructions that if he dared to annex the Soudan to the Congo there was every reason to believe that Her Majesty's Ministers would regard it as a very friendly act.

THE ORIGIN OF GORDON'S MISSION.

Rightly to understand how this wild notion lodged itself in the heads of some of the sanest and most cautious Ministers in the Cabinet it is necessary to recall the fact that General Gordon was on his way to take over the administration of the Congo when a fateful interview at Southampton compelled the British Government to despatch him to Khartoum. The pressure of public opinion compelled the Government to recall him to active service. He had come to England to arrange for permission to serve the King on the Congo. "His engagement on the Congo," I wrote in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "could surely be postponed. He may not be able single-handed to reduce that raging chaos (in the Soudan) to order, but the attempt is worth making, and if it is to be made it will have to be made at once. For before many days General Gordon will have left for the Congo, and the supreme opportunity may have passed by."

HIS CONGO POST.

"The supreme opportunity" did not pass by. Much to Lord Cromer's disgust, the whole nation responded as one man to that trumpet call, and General Gordon was sent to Khartoum. The appointment, received with universal acclamation at home and in Egypt, was received with furious indignation in Brussels. For in reclaiming General Gordon for the Soudan we took him away from the Congo, and so frustrated King Leopold's cherished plans. Mr. Demetrius C. Boulger, in his "Life of Gordon," explains that those plans had long been brooded over by the King. He says:—

"The King of the Belgians some three years before (in 1881) had conferred with Gordon concerning a scheme for the administration of certain territory on the Congo, and so perpetuating in these latitudes the memory of his dead son. The ex-Governor-General, fresh from the miseries of the Soudan, lent a willing ear to a cause which so nearly resembled the one he had so reluctantly abandoned, and he agreed, should the assent of his Government and of the other Powers be secured, to give his services in its aid. When, therefore, three years later, there were letters from the King reminding him of his promise and asking him to take up the work now far enough advanced for his control, he at once put by his antiquarian studies, postponed his schemes for the London poor, and with characteristic promptitude left Jaffa by the first ship —a battered merchantman, which was nearly wrecked on the way. Once at Brussels the final arrangements for the new undertaking were not long in being completed. The King, delighted to have secured so able and willing an envoy, lost not a moment in discussing his plans and in placing the fullest instructions in Gordon's hands. But the 'scroll of events was as yet unrolled,' and the Envoy had after all to accept another mission and other masters as being for the best."—(Vol. ii., pp. 19–20.)

GORDON RECALLED BY THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

It was on January 8th I interviewed Gordon at Southampton; but so sluggish and obstinate was Lord Cromer that General Gordon left London on the 14th for Brussels to take final leave of King Leopold before starting for the Congo, the British War Office having graciously consented to allow him to remain on our Army List while he was in the service of the King of the Belgians. King Leopold was therefore quite reassured that his plans would be carried out by General Gordon, when, to his infinite chagrin and dismay, Gordon was on the 17th January recalled by telegram to London; and on the following night he started for Khartoum.

THE SOUDAN AND THE CONGO.

Leopold therefore considered Gordon as his officer, of whose services he had been basely deprived at the last moment by the British Government, acting under compulsion of the Press, led by the *Pall Mall Gazette*. At that time the frontiers of the Congo were very elastic. The State itself was not formally established until some years

Leopold and the Princess Clementine.

This snapshot was taken on the last occasion on which the King appeared in public.

later. All that was known was that its eastern borders were conterminous with the western provinces of the Soudan. In later years King Leopold tried to possess himself of some of the flotsam and jetsam, and a small *enclave* remained in his possession till his death. It was, therefore, not quite so chimerical as it seemed to suggest to him the possibility of reclaiming his coveted General, of enormously extending his territories, and at the same time of earning the gratitude of the British Government.

LEOPOLD AS A REFUGE OF DESPAIR.

However forlorn the quest, it was the only thing left to be tried for Gordon, and when I was asked to go over to Brussels I did not hesitate. I thought it was something of a wild-goose chase. But there was nothing that could be done for Gordon that we were not bound to try to do for his sake. For the responsibility of that interview at Southampton lay heavy on my soul. He ought never to have been sent out unless we had been able to keep Lord Cromer from wrecking his chances of success. Gordon alone might have pulled it off. Gordon, with Cromer tripping him up at every turn, and refusing to allow him to act until the time for successful action had passed by, had not even an off-chance of success. All that I could do to shake off that deadly Cromer clutch I did at the time, and when I found it was in vain, I insisted, before Gordon got to Khartoum, that he ought never to have been sent out unless he were allowed the free hand which Lord Cromer denied him from start to finish. But Lord Cromer was an Old Man of the Sea on the hero's shoulders. He could not be shaken off. Anything seemed better than the continuance of that fatal and paralysing grip, and in sheer desperation we turned to Leopold.

MY INTERVIEW WITH THE KING.

It was with mingled feelings of hope and despair that I started for Brussels. M. Emile de Laveleye undertook to present me to the King. The usual etiquette which forbids a foreign sovereign to receive any British subject who has not been formally presented at the Court of his country was waived on that occasion, as in my case it has been waived elsewhere. Leopold was to be my first Royal interview, and four years were to pass before I interviewed the Tsar. The interview was fixed for Sunday afternoon in the palace at Brussels. The King, who was in residence at Laeken, was to come up expressly to receive me. After lunch I strolled about the city, and suddenly discovered to my horror that I was a mile from the palace, and by Brussels time I had little more than fifteen minutes to get there. I sprinted through the streets and arrived on time, steaming with perspiration, having barely time to struggle into my gloves when M. de Laveleye took me into the ante-chamber of the King. After a few minutes' conversation with an aide-de-camp, the door was flung open and M. de Laveleye and I were ushered into the King's presence.

THE INAUSPICIOUS OPENING.

As we entered I saw a very tall man in military uniform with a very long nose and a very decided limp coming into the room from the opposite door. He was not in a gracious mood. His eyes, looking down upon us on either side of his long nose, were not pleasant to look into. His manner was somewhat curt. M. de Laveleye murmured a few words and instantly withdrew. I was left alone with King Leopold. He did not sit down, nor did he ask me to sit. He began to speak to me in French. "Excuse me, sir," I said, "I do not speak French." His little eyes flashed. "Then," he replied haughtily, "I am afraid it was useless for you to have come here. I do not understand English." "Sir," I replied, "M. de Laveleye assured me that you spoke English perfectly." "M. de Laveleye is quite mistaken," replied the King, "I do not know how to speak English." Then he paused, and for one horrid moment I had a vision of myself returning to London with my tail between my legs and without having accomplished my mission. Then, fearing that he would next moment give the signal for my dismissal, I took my courage in both hands, and said :—

"Sir, it is very unfortunate that I have been so misinformed and that you cannot speak English. But I am quite sure that, although your Majesty may be unable to speak English, you can understand it quite well when I speak it. So as I came to Brussels to speak to you about Gordon, I shall at once proceed to deliver my message, doubting not that you will understand every word I say."

The King did not interrupt. So I went on, speaking as clearly and articulately as possible, to explain exactly what we wanted to know. Would he "take back Gordon now and take with him the Soudan as a gift?"

A STORMY INTERVIEW.

Leopold was furious. He listened impatiently, first standing on one foot and then on the other, fidgeting, angrily interrupting me now and then, and never again resuming the silly pose of one who did not understand English. He spoke English excellently, with a foreign accent, of course, but his pretence that he could not speak English was merely assumed in order to annoy. He was exceedingly angry, and raged and fumed in such a fashion that I felt more than once that it would have given him great satisfaction to have drawn his sword and thrust it through the vitals of his English visitor. "You!" he growled; "it was you who took Gordon away from me." "Yes," I replied, "and now we wish to restore him to you with an empire as a gift." "Nice gift!" he snarled. "The Soudan in revolt and the claims of the Ottoman Empire to the provinces still in force." "The revolt," I replied, "annuls the claims of the Sultan. The Soudan is now no man's land. Yesterday Khartoum was Egypt's; to-day it is Gordon's; to-morrow it may be the

Mahdi's, unless you accept." "I would not accept it if you offered it to me on a silver salver," he retorted. "No, no! Why did you take Gordon from me? You treated me very badly, and now you want me to get you out of this mess. It is impossible." "Sire," I said, "it is an empire that I lay at your feet—an empire which will fall into anarchy and ruin unless Gordon has authority to organise a stable and permanent State. The Government will not give him that authorisation; you might. If he had it he might save everything, and your Majesty would then save civilisation and at the same time extend your authority from the mouth of the Congo to the Red Sea."

A PERTINENT QUESTION.

"I will not touch your proffered empire," he replied. "I will have nothing to do with it; the risks are too great; the possible complications are too serious. I am very sorry for Gordon, but you have brought it upon yourselves. Why does not your own Government go to his help?"

So we debated the question back and forth in strenuous fashion for nearly an hour in the Palace at Brussels. The King remained standing the whole time, and so, of course, did I. The tall angry man with the long nose, the sinister eye, and the dangling sword towered over me as a Cochin China rooster might tower above a little bantam cock. But I felt that the life of Gordon might be at stake in the interview, and I stood up to the towering King as Mr. Lloyd George says the little Nonconformist chapel stands up to the baronial castle. It was a trying ordeal for me. I was glad to learn some months after that Leopold also felt the strain. Meeting M. de Laveleye some time afterwards at Spa, the King referred to the interview. "Stead!" exclaimed Leopold. "It was terrible; how that man made me sweat!"

King Leopold in 1853.

A REMINISCENCE OF ISMAIL PASHA.

That was my first experience in interviewing Kings. I suppose Leopold had rather a rough time, for I was zealous even to slaying in the cause of General Gordon, and the King was a man unaccustomed to frank, vehement argument in opposition to his will. But he fared less ill at my hands than did Ismail Pasha, once Khedive of Egypt, who delivered himself over to me on one occasion, saying that he hoped I would ask him any questions I pleased. I pleased to respond to his permission by a two hours' strenuous cross-examination, which he endured with imperturbable patience. But when I had left the room he exclaimed to my interpreter, "Did you ever see such a man? If I had been a thief before a tribunal of the Correctional Police he could not have cross-examined me more mercilessly." He had brought it upon himself. He had sought the interview, he gave me *carte blanche*, and it is not every day King Pharaoh gives a journalist an opportunity to catechise him upon all the misdeeds of his reign.

II.—NERO AFRICANUS.

I recall this episode in King Leopold's history because it is one original contribution which it is in my power to make to the annals of these times. I published a character sketch of Leopold in May, 1903, to which there is little new to add; but now that the Vampire of the Congo is dead I deem it as due to his memory to put on record my honest conviction that in the original conception of his enterprise on the Congo Leopold was actuated by a sincere and genuine ambition to win a great name for himself as the crowned philanthropist of his age.

WAS LEOPOLD EVER SINCERE?

It is this fact which adds the most tragic and pathetic touch to the story of his life. If you look at his portrait when he was a young man in his teens there is nothing to suggest the development of the future Nero Africanus. He was the son of a father whose mellow wisdom and lofty character made him the mentor of Prince Albert and Queen Victoria. He had as his tutor Baron Stockmar, the very Mr. Barlow of the European "Sandford and Merton."

He was in his youth remarkable for his industry, his intelligence, and his public spirit. In appearance he somewhat resembled our own Prince Consort, of whose family he was a scion.

YES! AT THE START.

When he ascended the throne, the first manifestation of this bent of his aspiration was in the direction of philanthropy and humanitarianism. He expelled his father's mistress, and for a time it seemed as if Exeter Hall had found a Royal patron Saint on the Belgian throne. He took counsel with men like Sir Bartle Frere, Cardinal Lavigerie, and General Gordon. When Mr. Stanley appealed in vain to other Governments to essay the great and perilous emprise of suppressing the slave trade in the Congo, it was only from Leopold that he received generous and loyal support. His ambition to reclaim the heart of Darkest Africa for civilisation was prompted by the fond desire of a bereaved father to rear on the banks of the great equatorial river an imperishable memorial to his only son, who died in infancy. In those early days no one imagined that there was money in the Congo. Yet this Shylock of Sovereigns gave Stanley £50,000 out of his private purse to lay the foundations of a great Free State which should establish liberty of trade, liberty of labour, and liberty of conscience in the heart of Central Africa.

EVIDENCE OF HIS GOOD FAITH.

The earliest statutes of the Congo Association, the original charter of the Congo State, all bear evidence to the lofty and disinterested spirit of its founder. If there had been any reasonable prospect of wringing dividends out of the Congo, it might be argued that all these provisions were merely so much dust thrown into the eyes of the public. But no one thought of the Congo as an investment in those days. The rubber tyre had not then become indispensable to civilisation, nor did anyone deem it possible that the rubber forests of Africa would become as profitable as a gold mine. It is difficult to believe that Leopold was so consummate a hypocrite as to deceive all the keenest statesmen in Europe, from Prince Bismarck downwards, and to hoodwink such an intuitive genius as General Gordon. Still more difficult is it, on the hypothesis of conscious duplicity, to explain his passionate desire to place General Gordon in command as his virtual Viceroy. When England robbed him of General Gordon he offered General Brocklehurst—General Gordon's friend—any terms he pleased to name if he would undertake the responsibility of representing him on the Congo.

No. Despite all that Mr. Morel has to say on the other side, I am unshaken in my conviction that at first Leopold meant well, that his heart was honestly disposed to do the right thing, and that he did in very truth entertain one of the noblest ambitions that ever inspired the heart of a humanitarian knight-errant.

HIS FALL: ITS CAUSE AND ITS PUNISHMENT.

But, if this be so, then indeed it must be admitted that—

> Since he misnamed the Morning Star,
> Nor man nor fiend has fallen so far.

The measure of his descent may be seen by contrasting the official programme of the Congo State as he founded it and the Congo State as he handed it over to the Belgian Government. It is not difficult to trace the origin of his tremendous fall into the abyss. Leopold was cursed with the burden of a granted prayer. Power was given to him to play the part of an earthly Providence, power unlimited and absolute, to which nothing in Russia or in Turkey can be compared. He became a little Lord God Omnipotent in Central Africa, with no one to call him to account and, when the rubber industry grew, he saw unlimited opportunities of amassing wealth beyond the dreams of avarice. There is nothing so demoralising as absolute power, and to the grandson of Louis Philippe there was no temptation so seductive as the lure of gold.

Of the result of Leopold's fall so much has been written that nothing need be added here. He asked for power to make the Congo an earthly Paradise; it was given him, and he used it to convert it into a terrestrial Hell. There is a well-known picture in Brussels by Wiertz representing the arrival of Napoleon in Hades. The great world-conqueror is surrounded by the widows and orphans of the myriad victims of his innumerable wars. They assail him with anathemas, and thrust into his face the mangled limbs of their beloved dead. Some future Wiertz may find a fitting theme for his sombre imagination in picturing the arrival of Leopold on the other side, welcomed by the myriad victims who were bereft of life and limb in order that he might grow so rich that when he died many millions sterling were left behind

III.—TIBERIUS AT LAEKEN

The domestic history of Leopold has obscured in these last weeks even the horrors of the Congo. Yet here also there is as much to mourn and to pity as to abhor and to condemn. Wise as was the first Leopold in all the lore of statecraft, he underestimated the important part which conjugal love plays in the affairs of men. When his son reached the age of eighteen his father wisely decided that it would be well for him to wed. Judging from his temperament in after life, the marriage might have been arranged with advantage at even an earlier age.

AN UNHAPPY MARRIAGE.

But instead of marrying the boy to any of the women who had attracted his boyish ardour, reasons of State were held to demand that he should be wedded to an Austrian Archduchess whom he had never seen. They were sent to the altar and their nuptial couch like sheep to the shambles. From the beginning the young

Princess Louise of Belgium.

Princess detested the union, and some of the letters which she wrote at the time, and which have since been published, are pathetic reading. In one she wrote: "My poor mother now begins to realise what she has done. She is an angel, and she believed she was making me happy, but now she sees that it is just the contrary. If God only hears my prayers I shall not live much longer, or everything will be changed."

Unfortunately she lived for many years longer. But after she had borne him a son, who died in infancy, and three daughters, conjugal life became intolerable, and the ill-matched pair did not even think it worth while to keep up appearances. Leopold, linked to a wife whom he did not love, sought consolation elsewhere.

OLD MOTHER JEFFRIES.

His amours became the by-word of Europe. The year after I had visited him in Brussels all London rang with a scandal which accused him, rightly or wrongly, of retaining Madame Jeffries, a notorious procuress — reported by a police inspector of Scotland Yard as keeping a house in Chelsea "for the aristocracy" — in order to supply him with English girls whose youth and innocence appealed to the depraved taste of the Tiberius of Laeken. I am popularly credited with having brought this accusation against the King in "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon." This is incorrect; but the fact that general statements as to the existence of a White Slave traffic between London and Belgium were generally believed to refer to Leopold's dealings with Mother Jeffries shows how widespread and evil was his reputation.

A SINISTER FAMILY HISTORY.

The family of Saxe-Coburg, from which he sprang, has never been famous for its virtue, and Leopold may be pitied as the victim of the double curse of hereditary taint and an unhappy marriage. The family history has been one of the most tragic in Europe. His sister-in-law, the Empress Charlotte, lost her reason when her husband, Maximilian, was executed in Mexico. His nephew and Heir Apparent was caught *in flagrante delicto* with the wife of a noble courtier, and killed by the outraged husband before he could escape from the chamber. The avenger was doomed to die nominally of malarial fever in Africa, in order to teach husbands to be complaisant when their wives sin with princes. Leopold's eldest daughter was married to Prince Philip of Saxe-Coburg at seventeen, a scoundrelly *roué*, whose debauchery drove the Princess Louise into the arms of a lover who was unable to save her from being

Photograph by [*Lallie Charles*

The Princess Stephanie.

incarcerated in a lunatic asylum or himself from gaol. Not until 1906 was she able to compel her husband to grant her a divorce, but even then she was unable to induce him to pay her the alimony to which she was entitled under the decree of divorce. Her sister, Princess Stephanie, was married at seventeen to the Crown Prince Rudolph, heir to the Austrian throne. There was no love in the marriage. Nine years after her marriage her husband and his mistress committed suicide together, under circumstances which made a profound sensation throughout the world. The widowed Stephanie eleven years later consoled herself with the love and the hand of Count Lonyay, thereby incurring the implacable wrath of her father, whose family pride was outraged at the marriage of his daughter with a mere Count. When her mother lay dying at Spa the King drove the Countess away from the death-bed. For it was a Queen who was dying, and by becoming a Countess the daughter had, in Leopold's eyes, forfeited all human rights.

IV.—THE BARONESS VAUGHAN.

There remained only one daughter, the Princess Clementine, who is still unmarried—the only member of his family with whom he was on speaking terms. Even with her he nearly quarrelled because she accidentally met and spoke to the Baroness Vaughan, the lady whose fame and fortune have eclipsed in popular interest the King himself.

Photograph by Chusseau-Flaviens [Paris.

The Baroness Vaughan,
Morganatic wife of the late King Leopold.

The Baroness Vaughan was the latest and most powerful of all the long rows of women who had been in turn the King's mistress. According to the scandalous chronicles with which the papers have been filled, this girl was the daughter of a Frenchman born in Roumania, one of a family of thirteen.

MADEMOISELLE LACROIX.

Leopold at the age of sixty-five or thereabouts appears to have met Mademoiselle Lacroix, then a girl of seventeen, when she was engaged as a barmaid or in some similar capacity at a café or restaurant at Spa. The King was attracted by her beauty, her freshness, and the joy of life that possessed her. She was

but the latest of a myriad others who had attracted his wandering eye, and as with him to will was to have, very little time elapsed before the girl, hardly more than a full-grown child, was installed as the latest addition to his seraglio. There is something more Oriental than Western in what followed. In Mohammedan countries the Sultan or the Shah gives his latest mistress precedence over his first wife, if so be that she bears him an heir to the throne. Leopold, who at first but admired and plucked that wayside flower with no other notion than that of flinging it on to the ground to wither and to die when he had enjoyed its fragrance for a brief season, no sooner became the father of her son than he became her slave. Instead of being discarded, like all her predecessors, when the lawless honeymoon was over, she was established in permanence as the reigning lady. Palaces were built for her, millions were lavished over her. Each of her three children is said to have been endowed with a million sterling; he made the ex-barmaid a baroness, and finally he married her with all civil and religious rites.

FROM MISTRESS TO WIFE.

Since King Cophetua loved the beggar-maid, the world has not witnessed so sensational a royal love affair as the wooing and the wedding of Mademoiselle Lacroix by Leopold II., King of the Belgians and Emperor of the Congo.

There are many ways of looking at every human life and at every incident in every human life. It is possible and perhaps easy to assume that this final and culminating scene in the long and vulgar series of Leopold's amours was but the final triumph of the senile sensuality of a septuagenarian over all the conventions. According to this view Mademoiselle Lacroix was but the latest and luckiest of his harlots who seized the advantage of her mastery over the infatuated King in order to divert to her own coffers the bloodstained loot of the Congo. She becomes one of those figures not unfamiliar in the history of the world of a kind of avenging Nemesis who out of our pleasant vices makes whips to scourge us.

WAS THIS EXPIATION?

But there is another and more charitable view. Is it not possible that Leopold, seeing his life slipping from him, determined to make what expiation he could to the sex he had for fifty years used and abused but as the minister to his vices, by making the latest, the youngest, and perhaps he thought the best of all his mistresses, whatever amends a man on a throne can make to a woman? It may be absurd to suggest such a thing as a conscience in sex matters in the case of so thorough-paced a libertine as Leopold, but who knows what latent reserve of virtue may have lingered in his heart? After all, someone may have been capable of rousing in him some aspiration after better things, may have fanned the flickering spark of good resolve into a steady flame, and may have inspired him with a loathing horror of the life he had led.

ARGUMENTS IN HIS FAVOUR.

This may seem far-fetched, but look at his actions. In the first place, he actually appears to have so far restrained his wandering and polygamous instinct as to have lived with her year after year continuously since he first met her. In the second place, instead of treating her as a mere *fille de joie*, he made her the mother of his children. In the third place, instead of allowing these bastards to be spawned in the gutter like so many casual fruit of passing passion, he arranged for their education and upbringing with paternal care. Fourthly, he risked the displeasure of his subjects and the hatred of his family by treating her as a Queen in all but in name. He lodged her in stately pleasure-houses built for her luxury and pride, he bought her estates, he was as eager to lavish millions upon her as he had been to extort them from the tortured Congolese. Finally—and this is the most remarkable thing of all—Leopold, whose notions of royal caste were so rigid that his wrath was implacable against his daughter who condescended to marry a Count, himself married the ex-barmaid with full civil and religious rites, as certified by His Holiness the Pope.

NEMESIS OR AN ALTAR OF EXPIATION!

It may be that this is all a fantasia of the charitable imagination, and that there was nothing in Leopold's relations with Mademoiselle Lacroix more than the expiring flicker of the flame of unbridled sensuality. But, on the other hand, there is just a remote off-chance that this lady from the bar may have brought to a soul deep-stained with selfish indulgence in every lawless passion some glimpse of the horror of the life he had led, and thereby had roused in him some wild aspiration to make up to her, the representative of the innocence of the virgins whom he had corrupted and the glory of the motherhood which he had despised, by showering upon her all the wealth and the glory that he could command.

Did Mademoiselle Lacroix show to the unveiled Mokanna of Brussels as in a mirror the loathly horror of his unveiled features, and thereby rouse in that cynic a desire to spend the last days of his life in expiating as far as he could the innumerable wrongs of the past?

Who knows? If this hypothesis be true, the Baroness, instead of being an avenging Nemesis, was a kind of Altar of Expiation, on which he heaped the offerings by which the guilty penitent sought to make atonement for a life which was one long outrage upon the sanctity and the glory of womanhood.

INSURANCE NOTES.

Mr. Robert B. Cameron, Secretary of the Australian Mutual Provident Society, died on 7th ult., at the age of sixty-one years. The deceased gentleman, who was born at Belfast, came to Australia at the age of fifteen, and entered the first branch office of the Society in Melbourne as a junior clerk. In 1877 he became resident secretary in Tasmania, and seven years later he was appointed resident secretary in South Australia, ultimately reaching the zenith of his secretarial career in 1890. Mr. Cameron lived completely for his work, and rendered service of the highest type to the Society.

Mr. G. A. Russell, who has retired from the management of the Australasian branch of the North British and Mercantile Insurance Company, was, on January 28, presented by the principal officers and attorneys of the Company in Australia and New Zealand with a silver salver, and with a silver fern bowl from the staff of the Melbourne office. In making the presentation, Mr. C. R. Colquhoun (who succeeds to the management) referred to the pleasant and friendly relations that had existed between Mr. Russell and those who had worked under him.

On the 4th ult., the Melbourne staff of the South British Insurance Company Limited, through the manager, made a presentation to Mr. Robert D. Elliott, who has been admitted into partnership with Messrs. Mills and Lewis, legal managers and accountants, of Bendigo. Mr. Elliott will still be associated with the South British Company in the capacity of resident secretary for Bendigo and Northern district.

The Secretary for Victoria of the Mutual Life and Citizens' Assurance Company Limited, Mr. R. H. Gibson, notifies that the new ordinary life business written by the Company for the year 1909 exceeds £2,000,000.

An arrangement by which the Colonial Mutual Life Assurance Society will acquire the business of the Standard Life Association Limited is being completed. The object is to secure a larger business connection, which can be worked in conjunction with that already handled, at a cheaper rate than would be easily decided upon, but it would not be so as rivals. The Colonial Mutual has already been making progress on the broad lines of its own industrial department, established last year, while in acquiring the Standard business it obtains the advantage of the established position of the latter in the industrial field.

A conference was convened recently by the Chief Secretary for Victoria (Mr. Murray) to consider ways and means for a better water supply for fire purposes in Melbourne. Representatives of the Metropolitan Fire Brigades' Board, Metropolitan Board of Works, Fire Underwriters' Association, and the municipalities, were present. Mr. Murray explained that as far back as 1900 the question of securing an adequate water supply for Melbourne in the event of fire had been considered important a. ' had been discussed. It might be that a scheme would be easily decided upon, but is would not be so easy to fix upon whom the burden of payment should fall. Speaking to the latter question, Mr. Chapman, on behalf of the Fire Underwriters' Association, said that the view taken by his people was that as they were a trading concern, it was not part of their duty to contribute directly to a water supply scheme. The underwriters did not look at the question of water supply only. They looked at many other matters, such as congestion, construction, and the occupations of the various risks they had to cover. So far as the metropolis was concerned, they had taken an area of ten miles from the General Post Office, and constituted it the best area in their calculation of risk in Victoria. Some parts of that area had no main at all, but insurers in those parts paid the same rates as the others. Because there were lighthouses and harbour improvements, the marine insurance people were not asked to contribute towards their cost, and life insurance offices

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were not asked to pay for hospitals and sanitary improvements. Why, then, should fire insurance offices be treated differently? Of course, if the hazard were reduced by an improved service, that would be taken into consideration when fixing insurance rates. The present rates were as much due to the Building Act as to the Water Supply Act. Mr. Chapman further reminded the Conference that the basis rate charged by the companies for Melbourne was as low as the rate charged in cities with a first-rate water supply.

The absolute necessity of a wireless telegraphy installation on sea-going vessels has been amply demonstrated in a disaster near Cape Hatteras, in the United States. The liner "Kentucky" began to sink during a storm off the Cape, through the seams opening. The vessel being fortunately fitted with the wireless system, a message for assistance was promptly answered, and the whole of the forty-five souls on board were taken off in safety.

An interesting demonstration of a new patent fire extinguisher and fumigator was given on board the Colonial Sugar Refinery Company's steamer "Fiona" on 4th inst. The apparatus is known as the Harker Patent Fire Extinguisher and Fumigator, and was invented by Dr. George Harker, of Sydney. The principle of the extinguisher, as explained by Dr. Harker, is to utilise the waste coal gas from the furnaces to provide the fire extinguishing and fumigating agency. By reducing the oxygen in the air from 21 per cent. to 15 per cent. the air will extinguish flames. By reducing the amount of oxygen a little more, combustion will entirely cease. The gas is taken from the steamer's flues, and, after being cooled and cleaned, it is forced into the hold in which a fire has broken out, or which it is desired to fumigate. The tests given were thorough in all respects, and prove the invention to be all that it is claimed to be.

CORRESPONDENCE.

FINANCIAL FEDERATION.

To the Editor of "The Review of Reviews."

Sir,—The above was not effected by any of the conventions; or by any conferences of Premiers; or by the Commonwealth Constitution Act; or by any procedure whatever up to the present moment. The nearest approach is the rule-of-thumb 25s. per head to the States out of the revenue received by the Commonwealth, which at present is wholly fiscal.

That enactment by the Commonwealth Parliament, in pursuance of an agreement to that effect acquiesced in by the Premiers of the several States, should be ratified by the electors at the referendum to be taken in April next. It is equitable and British in all its four corners, but should have been arrived at by "providing" (as set forth in the Braddon clause) what should have been provided in that clause by the convention, which finally passed it before the first referendum—namely, that of the net proceeds of fiscalism (Customs and Excise), half should go to the Federal Treasury, and half to the Interstate Commission, to be allocated by that body to the several States according to a per collection percentage scheduled every year in an Act of the Commonwealth Parliament.

That would "hold the balance even" for all time, over all the States (as such), and as the collective Commonwealth, both in respect to fiscal policy and fiscal proceeds.

It is marvellous that this "Columbus and the egg" solution of fiscalism never occurred to anyone but myself, so far as I know. It is still more marvellous that the machinery for carrying it out exists now in the Commonwealth Constitution Act; and a further marvel that those two burglars (in a draftsman's sense) Messrs. Reid and Turner, who broke into the Braddon clause with their ten year limitation, provided thereby the very Pyramus and Thisbe hole in the wall to enable the necessary corrections to be made in that clause; and without any resort to the worse than Garden of Eden serpent called a referendum, and a third George (Henry Wise) gave me the Rosamund's bower clue to unravelling all this mischief.

Section 37, of clause 51, Commonwealth Constitution Act, permits the Federal Parliament to pass a Fiscal Revenue Disposal Act every year, and each State could ratify it by a separate Act attached as a schedule to the Commonwealth Act.

That procedure could be applied to all sorts of ameliorations of the Federal Constitution, without resorting to delirium tremens' methods (referenda).

I claim that the above steps are providentially-provided statesmanship for all time for all purposes contained now in the Constitution Act.

But practical politics are seldom statesmanship in a mathematical sense. And I, as a practical politician, say that the 25s. per capita agreement should be ratified in April next. In fact, electors should always ratify any referenda submitted to them. It is only in that way that they can keep their Parliament from being destroyed. Referenda, and parliamentary usefulness cannot co-exist except by treating all referenda as a concession to blatant noise, inseparable from modern Democracy, which has not yet "ranged" itself under "one adult, one vote." Therefore, always support your Parliament in what it has enacted, even if you change your Parliament the next day.

That view of referenda must shortly become the universal gospel; therefore, the fears expressed by Hon. R. Harper, M.H.R., and some others, that the 25s. per head agreement should not be placed in the Constitution Act now because it would be so difficult to get it out again, are quite untenable. Those difficulties, like minatory clauses in conditions of sale, or in a landlord and tenant agreement, read formidable, but, in practice, they present no difficulties whatever. This has already been proved by an alteration of the Constitution which no one remembers.

Curiously enough, Mr. Harper approves of the 25s. per capita (which, as a financier and a merchant, and a trained politician he should not do), but he boggles at the technical formalities of alteration, which he ought to rejoice in, for he does not want any alterations! Then why row an oar in somebody else's galley?

And he must know that if his counsel to vote "No" at the referendum is adopted by a majority of the electors, the result will be that all the Unificationists throughout Australia (who are only Republicans with a mask on) will say—"Behold our National Republic is demanded by the sovereign people! Away with the States, and with all allegiance to the cold country." A favourite phrase of these gentry, which indicates their inner heart as a bottle nose does that of the gizzard of a drunkard.

CHRISTOPHER CRISP.

Bacchus Marsh, January 14, 1910.

Value of Nitro-Bacterine.

(Extract from Wairarapa "Daily Times," January 17, 1910.)

MR. WINGATE'S EXPERIMENTS.

GRATIFYING RESULTS.

Mr. Wingate, of Manaia, Masterton, supplies us with some interesting information and figures with regard to his oat crop, which has just been threshed. Mr. Wingate, it will be remembered, has been conducting some experiments with nitro-bacterine. He sowed a paddock down in oats, which, roughly speaking, he divided into four parts. The first part was sown with seed that had not been treated, the second and third with seed that had received a dressing of the nitro-bacterine according to prescription, while the fourth part, again, was sown with seed that had not been treated, but with this difference: the young shoots were given a dressing with a solution of the culture as soon as they showed above the ground. The results are decidedly interesting, as the following figures will show:—No. 1 plot, which was not treated, yielded a crop the weight of which, including straw and oats, when cut, was 52½ lbs.; weighed again when dry it showed a loss of 28¼ lbs., leaving the weight at 24 lbs., which gave a yield of 3¼ lbs. of oats. This worked out at twenty-six bushels per acre, and a total weight of oats and straw per acre of 68 cwt. 64 lbs. The second plot gave a weight of straw and oats, when cut, of 48¾ lbs., and showed a shrinkage in drying of 20¾ lbs., leaving the weight at 28 lbs., that yielded 5¼ lbs. of oats. The yield per acre on this basis worked out at forty-four bushels and a total weight of oats and straw of 80 cwt. The third plot proved the best of the lot, giving a weight of straw and oats, when cut, of 54 lbs. It showed a shrinkage of 24½ lbs. in drying, leaving the weight at 29½ lbs., that yielded 6¼ lbs. of oats. This worked out at fifty-two bushels per acre, and a total weight of oats and straw per acre of 84 cwt. 32 lbs. No. 4 plot, which was given a dressing with a solution of the culture after the seed had shown above the ground, yielded when cut 48¼ lbs. of oats and straw, and showed a shrinkage in drying of 24¼ lbs., leaving 24 lbs. that yielded 6 lbs. of oats. This worked out at forty-eight bushels per acre, and a total weight of oats and straw per acre of 68 cwt. 64 lbs.

It will be noticed that the yield per acre from the third plot, which was treated with the culture, is just double that from the plot which was not treated, a fact that should demonstrate conclusively the value of nitro-bacterine.

The figures were compiled by Mr. D. Guild.

Mr. Wingate also writes, "I applied to apple trees, round the roots, with results beyond my expectations." Mr. Wingate would be pleased to answer any communications sent to him with regard to the culture, and supply it in New Zealand in any quantity. His address is:—Mr. John Wingate, High-street, Masterton, New Zealand.

In Victoria and South Australia the Sole Agents are the Nitro-Bacterine Fertilizer Company, 24 Market Street, Melbourne, to whom all orders from those States should be sent. Westralian orders should go to Mr. I. W. Dietz, Kojonup, Katanning; Tasmanian to Messrs. W. D. Peacock & Co., Hobart. Other States' orders should come to "The Review of Reviews," Temperance and General Life Building, Swanston Street, Melbourne.

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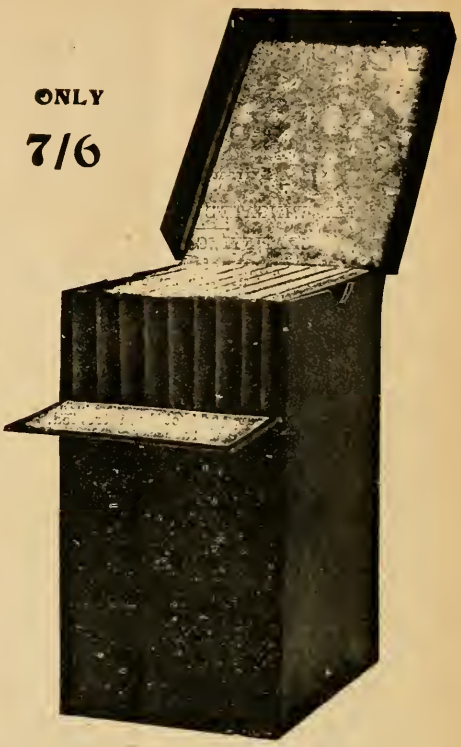

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THE MANAGER "Review of Reviews," Temperance and General Life Building, Swanston-st., Melbourne.

Printed and published by John Osborne, 508 Albert-st., E. Melbourne; Sole Wholesale Distributing Agents for Australasia: Messrs Gordon and Gotch Pty Ltd.